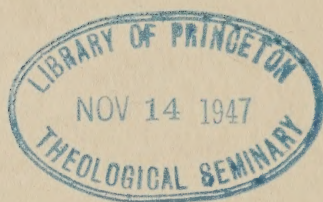

PSYCHOLOGY
OF
ADOLESCENCE

THIRD
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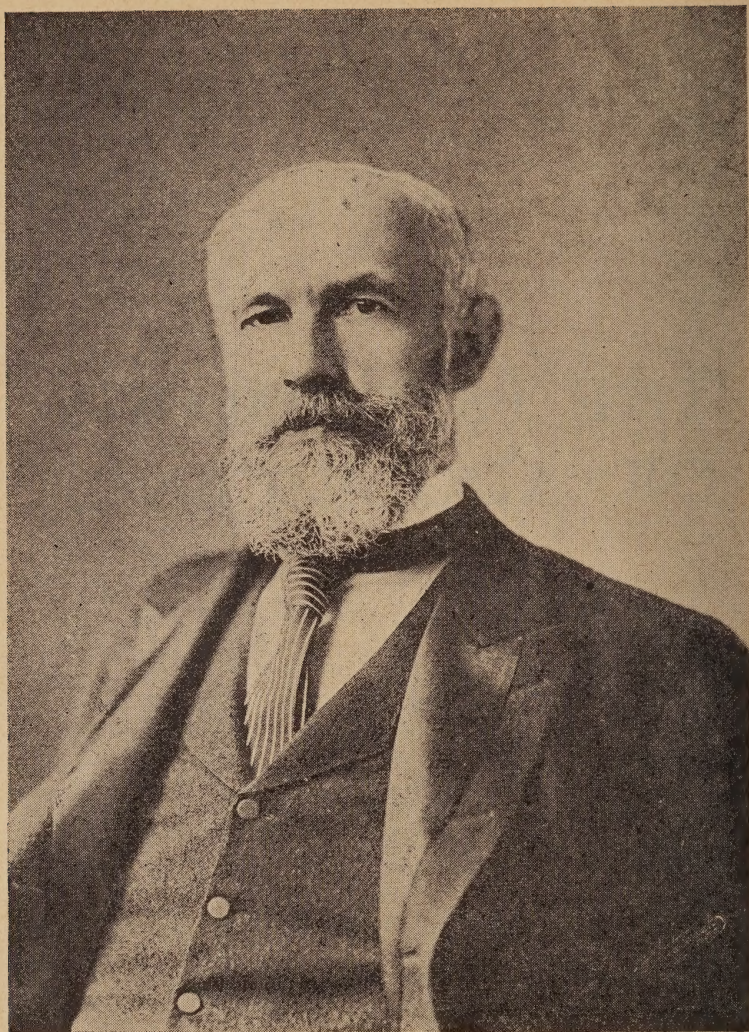


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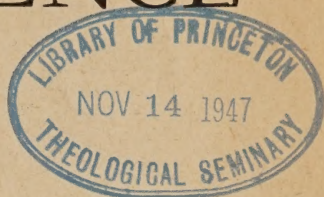
THE PSYCHOLOGY
OF ADOLESCENCE



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C. Stanley Hall

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE



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THIRD EDITION

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TO MY BROTHER
SIDNEY CLARENCE GARRISON
LATE PRESIDENT
GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS
WHO SPENT HIS LIFE'S ENERGY
FOR THE CAUSE OF EDUCATION

Preface

THIS THIRD EDITION has been written to include the findings from selected recent studies of adolescents. Without sacrificing the major body of facts presented in the earlier editions, I have added much new material relative to *the needs of adolescents, the development of attitudes, heterosexuality, and youth problems today and tomorrow*. The addition of new illustrations will, it is hoped, aid in presenting a more complete picture of the development of the adolescent and the organization of personality during the years of adolescence. Where the field is extensive, it has been necessary to limit the presentation, with the result that much valuable material has been omitted; however, the studies reviewed and analyzed are representative, and have been chosen for their clarity, objectivity, and direct application.

The aim of this edition, like that of the two previous ones, is twofold. My experience has led me to believe, first, that its content and method will be welcomed by the many college students who are still in the later stages of adolescence. Those students are seeking information concerning a multitude of psychological problems, especially personality problems, and in writing I have kept them constantly in mind. The book is also designed to be of value to those entrusted with the care and guidance of adolescents. Parents—engrossed in domestic duties or in vocational and avocational pursuits—and even teachers too often forget the difficulties that beset youth. I hope that this book may afford both parents and teachers a more appreciative view of adolescents and a fuller recognition of the importance of their transition from childhood to adulthood.

The second aim of this book is to introduce the student to basic experimental studies, and thus lay the foundation for a critical appreciation of new studies that are constantly appearing, for the psychology of the various periods of human growth is at this time rapidly developing. The general student will find the facts actually given in detail in the text supplemented by specific references to sources in the bibliographies which follow the chapters. The more advanced or more alert student should find the sources named in the footnotes additionally helpful in

his development of new techniques of study as well as an analytical view of new findings and principles in the field.

The original volume had its inception in my mind while I was an advanced student in genetic psychology at Peabody College. It was here that I first became familiar with Hall's writings and was impressed by the biological conception of individual development and the scientific study of the growing child. This interest has continued to develop in connection with courses on the psychology of adolescence and related subjects that I have conducted at Peabody College, North Carolina State College, the University of North Carolina, Syracuse University, New York State Teachers College of Albany, the University of Colorado, the University of Utah, and the Teachers College of Connecticut.

I have drawn heavily from recent scientific studies and current source materials. Thus youth activities in this country, surveys of various aspects of the life of adolescents, clinical studies of adolescents, and representative research studies from various sources are reviewed, and are acknowledged by references. But, apart from these acknowledgments, it is difficult to give adequate credit to all the sources to which I am indebted. I should like, however, to express here my thanks to the writers and publishers who have permitted the use of quotations from certain studies. Special acknowledgment is due, moreover, to many students of adolescent psychology who have offered constructive suggestions since the publication of the original edition in 1934 and the revised edition in 1940.

K. C. G.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

I

The Adolescent Age

The meaning of adolescence. An examination of various definitions of adolescence reveals little difference of opinion regarding the physical facts which constitute the foundation for a general study of adolescence. Usually, adolescence is thought of as that period of life during which maturity is being attained; and especially is this true insofar as maturity relates to the development of the procreative powers of the individual. This period also marks a time in the individual's life when it is difficult to consider him either as a child or as an adult. Observations of, and experiences with, individuals during the "teen" period reveal that there is a fairly distinct time during which the individual cannot be treated as a child, and actually resents such treatment. Yet this same individual is by no means fully mature, and cannot be classed as an adult. During this transition from childhood to adulthood, therefore, the subject is referred to as an adolescent.

G. Stanley Hall¹ was the first to draw a vivid and striking picture of this stage of life, with all its specific characteristics, gradations, and peculiarities. His splendid portrayal of this period as the "storm and stress" time of life caught the attention of all who came into contact with his writings, which were, in fact, so impressive that they dominated the thinking of most American students of adolescent psychology for a number of years. Just three years before his death, he presented a rather clear description of the nature of the "flapper," which, he pointed out, has its beginning with the "teen" years.² He cites the

¹G. Stanley Hall: *Adolescence* (2 vols.). New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1904.

²G. Stanley Hall: "Flapper Americana Novissima," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1922, 129, pp. 771-780.

definition of the term from the dictionary as: (one) "yet in the nest, and vainly attempting to fly while its wings have only pin feathers." His conception of adolescence as a transitional period has been set forth in definitions and descriptions by students of psychology in more recent years. The definition by Slawson is sufficiently clear and inclusive to serve as a basis for understanding the meaning of adolescence. He states:

Psychologically, adolescence, starting with the age of twelve and generally considered to end somewhere between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, is known as the "storm-and-stress period" and is set apart from childhood, on the one hand, and adulthood on the other. It is a transitional stage between childhood and adulthood, an adjustment process fraught with many difficulties.³

Variation in pubescence. Studies that have been conducted relative to the beginnings of puberty indicate that there is considerable variation in this phenomenon, and that variation between the sexes is especially pronounced. However, a more careful analysis reveals that a great deal of overlapping of the sexes exists. In Table I data are presented from a study by Crampton⁴ showing the age of puberty for a group of almost 4,000 grammar school and high school boys in New York City. A similar table, taken from Baldwin's⁵ later study, gives the various ages of the advent of puberty for 1,241 grammar school and high school girls. It should be noted from Table I that the period for pubescence is a distribution range, not an average chronological age; for no single age classification applies to a majority of the girls. These data indicate that there is a wide variation in the advent of puberty, with the distribution range for girls about one and one-half or two years advanced over that of boys. In a more recent study by Katherine Simmons⁶ of a selected sampling of 200 girls whose parents were above average both in education and economic level and who

³ John Slawson: "The Adolescent in a World at War," *Mental Hygiene*, 1943, 27, p. 531.

⁴ C. W. Crampton: "Physiological Age—A Fundamental Principle," *American Physical Education Review*, 1908, 13, p. 150. The age of puberty in this table is not confined to a single half-year period; hence the per cents total more than 100 per cent.

⁵ Bird T. Baldwin: "A Measuring Scale for Physical Growth and Physiological Age," *Fifteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1916, Part I, p. 17. (Quoted by permission of the Society.)

⁶ Katherine Simmons: "The Brush Foundation Study of Child Growth and Development. II. Physical Growth and Development," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1944, 9, No. 1.

TABLE I
APPEARANCE OF PUBESCENCE IN BOYS AND GIRLS

Ages	Boys		Girls	
		Per Cent *		Per Cent
12.25		16	10	0.0
12.75		25	10.5	6.25
13.25		26	11.0	0.0
13.75		28	11.5	19.23
14.25		28	12.0	37.93
14.75		24	12.5	23.88
15.25		20	13.0	34.88
15.75		10	13.5	37.87
16.25		4	14.0	38.46
16.75		4	14.5	17.74
17.25		2	15.0	14.54
17.75		0	15.5	7.81
			16.0	6.12
			16.5	3.17
			17.0	0.0

* Per cent refers to the number showing signs of pubescence at a particular age level. Since some of them showed signs at more than one-half year age level they are included twice in the estimates. The total of the per cents would, therefore, amount to more than 100 per cent.

were of Northern European stock, the average chronological age at pubescence was 12.56 years. The appearance of pubescence for more than two-thirds of the girls was between 11.5 years and 13.62 years.

Terman and Baldwin⁷ offer evidence indicating that children from the upper social strata generally mature a year or two in advance of those from lower strata; and along with this they found that superior children, as a group, matured earlier than inferior children. Other studies have shown that the feeble-minded as a group mature later. However, the age of pubescence varies not only with sex, living conditions, and general intelligence, but also with race and climate. It has been shown that girls from central temperate areas mature earlier than those from colder northern or even warmer southern regions. (See Figure 1.) Also, children of Latin stock appear to mature earlier than those of Celtic stock; colored children in America mature earlier on the average than white children of the same age; and children from

⁷ L. M. Terman: *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. 1, 1925, p. 205; Bird T. Baldwin: "Mental Growth Curves of Normal and Superior Children," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1922, 2, No. 1.

a favorable geographical environment mature earlier as a group than those from a less favorable one.⁸ There is evidence that puberty appears from one to two years earlier today than a generation or more ago. Also, earlier European data on the onset of puberty in girls shows a median between fourteen and fifteen years among Southern Europeans to sixteen years or later among the Northern Europeans. However, more recent data indicate an earlier maturity for Europeans as well as Americans. The question of what elements are causative in the rate of

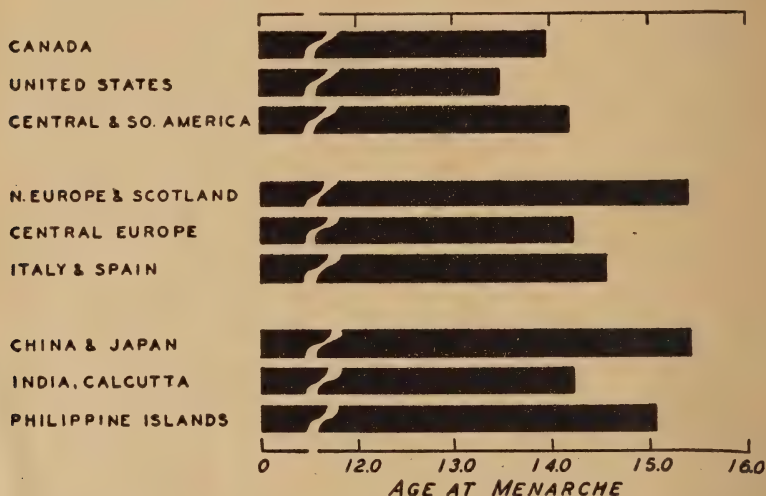


FIG. 1. Average age at first menstruation in the Americas, Europe, and Asia; data presented separately for northern, central, and tropical or semi-tropical areas. Note that the menarche is earlier in the central temperate areas and delayed in the colder northern and even warmer southern areas. Menstruation is earlier according to this chart in the United States than in any other area. (From Shuttleworth: "The Adolescent Period, a Graphical and Pictorial Analysis," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 3, No. 3. This is based upon data from C. A. Mills, "Geographic and Time Variations in Body Growth and Age at Menarche," *Human Biology*, 1937, 9, pp. 43-56.)

maturation is not considered here; however, the associations suggested are rather definitely shown in various studies relating to adolescence and maturity.

Although the adolescent is rather distinct as such, having qualities peculiar to this phase of life alone, the adolescent age is not considered by the present writer as wholly isolated from and unrelated to other periods of life. Developmental periods are marked off somewhat arbitrarily, and an examination of the various classifications of these shows many inconsistencies and much overlapping; moreover, it is always

⁸ C. A. Mills: "Geographic and Time Variations in the Body Growth and Age at Menarche," *Human Biology*, 1937, 9, pp. 43-56.

to be remembered that adolescence covers a range of several years. This important truth, and the fact that there is a rather wide variation in the time of the onset of adolescence, have helped to determine the trend and organization of thought in the following chapters on the development of adolescents.

Pubic ceremonies. Before a more detailed study of the characteristics of the adolescent is undertaken, it should be of interest as well as value to note some social customs concerned with the passage of youth from childhood to maturity. The universality of pubic rites and the solemnity of their observation are evidence of the recognition, even in earliest times, of the importance of this stage of life. Consciously organized pubic ceremonies, sometimes very formal in execution, have been carried out by almost all primitive peoples, and, in many of these, tortures, humiliation, and various forms of instruction have had a place. Notably, the increase of formality in rites, and the lengthening of the period of the adolescent's preparation for them, have constituted a fair index of the degree of development of various civilizations. The aims of education and the methods of teaching among the highly developed civilizations of the Greeks and Hebrews indicate that these peoples formally initiated individuals into manhood and womanhood; indeed, the simplest and probably the earliest type of systematized education among savages related to the preparation of children for such ceremonies. However, both secular and modern public education have broken away so completely from these practices of the past that it is difficult to recognize any vestiges in our educational processes.

Several authors, among whom G. Stanley Hall⁹ is one of the most prominent, have given us full and vivid descriptions of these pubic ceremonies as carried out among the more primitive tribes. An interesting attempt to present a more or less subjective fourfold purposeful classification of these ceremonies is presented by Boynton.¹⁰ The first of these four types he listed as educational. "Ceremonies under this heading," he points out, "were designed specifically for the purpose of affording especial opportunities for the education of the youths, who were soon to become members of the adult milieu." A second type of ceremony described by Boynton was one involving physical ordeals which were based on the assumption that an individual who could not meet certain physical requirements demanded of him was not fit to

⁹ See his account in *Adolescence*, 1904, 2, Chap. XIII, pp. 233-249.

¹⁰ Paul Boynton: "Adolescent Initiations Among Primitive Peoples," *Peabody Reflector and Alumni News*, 1934, 7, pp. 89-90, 98-100.

become a member of the adult group. The third type of ceremony was designed to promote matrimony. Rites of this type concluded with the announcement to the members of the opposite sex that the individual was now ready for marriage, provided that another willing party could be found. The fourth and last of these types has been referred to as the vestigial group. "Here rituals were performed when so far as can



Courtesy, "National Geographic." Photograph by Lt. Col. L. E. Becher, D.S.O.,
Surry, England.

Primitive people believe that these strange ceremonies suddenly transform the young people into mature citizens. (Secured through the aid of the *Journal of the National Education Association*.)

be determined the one main idea was that of merely conforming to tribal customs. In this group are the ceremonies, frequently devious and often contradictory, whereby the tribe welcomed the children into adulthood without any apparent regard to why certain courses were followed or certain practices ever were initiated."

Some informal observances of modern civilization. Probably the most noticeable of the modern practices is the introduction of the young lady into "society." This usually takes place during the latter part of the adolescent period and signifies to the world—and particularly to the young men—that a daughter is about to enter woman's estate. Frequently the initiate-to-be is given a "house" or "coming-out" party, or makes her debut at a debutante ball or similar celebration. After this period in her life the girl is allowed certain privileges formerly denied her, such as having young men call and attending dances. Yet not only do we find her appearing in formal social ac-

tivities; a changed attitude is assumed toward her as well. She is now addressed as "Miss" rather than by her maiden name, except among more intimate friends; and like the maturing boy she may often be admitted to a wide variety of adult life. But these, of course, are not the only tokens of maturity in modern society. The gift of a watch, commencement (a significant term) exercises at high school, the finishing school, the linking of the self with the church—these are all more or less socialized events related to the entrance into maturity.

It has been suggested that this recognition is informal, and that the youth has not wholly put away childish things. Yet the world at large, as well as the individual concerned, is advised of a person's becoming a matured social being. On the other hand, we may not ignore the fact that practices to which we have referred are mainly those of the more financially fortunate families. A survey of the life habits of people from a lower social stratum will show that many such observances are absent, and that today there is little here to indicate to the world and to the developing youth that the adult group, with its privileges and responsibilities, is receiving a new member. Frequently the "initiation" lessons are given by uncouth and unworthy elders. Often, indeed, the home is a very poor agent for developing and setting forth a responsible social being; and as a result of its neglect, inadequacy, or general unwholesomeness, undesirable psychological growths appear in the young.

Distribution of adolescents. There has been a continuous increase in the numbers of our population at all age levels throughout the major part of our history. However, beginning in 1921 and 1922 there has been a rapidly declining birth rate. This was reflected in an actual decrease in the number of adolescents in our population a decade or more later. By 1950 the great decline in the birth rate during depression years of the early 1930's will be manifested in a still further decrease of the adolescent population. Table II gives the number of boys and girls between 14 and 18, inclusive, in our population according to the 1940 census.¹¹ The estimated number for 1950 is also presented. The increase in the birth rate during World War II will no doubt raise the number in this adolescent group for 1960, although it appears likely that such an increase, alone, will not seriously affect a long-time trend of a declining birth rate.

Owing to technological developments and the increased urbanization

¹¹ Warren S. Thompson: "Adolescents According to the Census," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1944.

TABLE II

YOUTH 14-18 YEARS OF AGE, BY SEX, FOR THE UNITED STATES,
1930, 1940, AND ESTIMATES FOR 1950 (in thousands)

AGE	1940			1950 ^a		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
14.....	2,406	1,218	1,188	2,128	1,083	1,045
15.....	2,423	1,222	1,200	2,120	1,075	1,045
16.....	2,489	1,249	1,240	2,033	1,029	1,003
17.....	2,403	1,213	1,190	2,071	1,046	1,025
18.....	2,583	1,282	1,301	2,178	1,102	1,076
14-18....	12,303	6,185	6,119	10,529	5,334	5,195

^a Estimated by the application of a ten-year survival rate calculated from United States Life Tables 1939-1941 (prepared by the Bureau of the Census and released January 11, 1944) to the census population 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 years of age in 1940.

accompanying these developments, there has been a continuous migration from the farms to the cities and towns. This is reflected in a significant decrease in the number of adolescents among the farm populations, a decrease shown more clearly among the female group where the urban white female adolescents of 1940 outnumbered the males by over 70,000. Thompson has pointed out in this connection that, "In the estimated population for 1950 the great decline in adolescents is in the urban population (1.4 millions), although the decline is substantial in the rural-farm population, particularly among white males. . . ." ¹² The estimates of adolescents by regions reflect regional differences. Those areas consisting of many large urban centers reveal a very low birth rate. The adolescent population of the Northeastern and North Central states, if there were no migration, would decline by approximately 19.5 per cent by 1950, whereas the decline for the South and West would be about 6.5 per cent and 14 per cent, respectively.

At all ages, and in all areas, there has been a considerable increase in the number attending school. As would be expected, there is a larger proportion of the urban than of the rural adolescents attending school. Materials bearing on this problem are presented in the Chapter, "The Adolescent at School."

Summary. Since the first appearance of the momentous work of G. Stanley Hall, much has been written and said about the age of

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

adolescence. There are many who would consider this period of life as separate and distinct from other periods, holding it up as a dramatic stage that justifies all the phrases and titles that have been built up around it. We hear the expressions, "Flaming Youth," "Coming-Out Parties," "The Age of Accountability," and the like. These are merely terms used to express ideas formerly conceived of in connection with various public ceremonies. The importance of this transition period was recognized by the early primitive tribes, but the conception of the nature of the transition has not always been in harmony with the notions that will be presented in the next several chapters dealing with growth.

With the advancements that have taken place in our social order, there has come about a greater necessity for continuing schooling over a longer period of time. This, combined with a number of other elements related to our industrial civilization, has affected an increased enrollment in our schools, so that today approximately two-thirds of those of high school age are enrolled. The final chapter of this volume gives some notions of the role that adolescents of the present day will play in life's drama tomorrow. It should be the goal of those concerned with the direction and guidance of adolescents to direct them in such a way that they will be able to function as citizens of tomorrow with the greatest efficiency and satisfaction. In doing this we must never lose sight of the operation of issues, values, and dreams in these eager, energetic, growing adolescent boys and girls of today.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Look up several definitions of adolescence and note the points of similarity in each. (See Appendix A for a bibliography.)
2. Look up the derivation of the word *adolescence*. List some other words that have been developed from this derivative.
3. What is meant by public ceremonies? Do you notice any points of similarity between the various ceremonies? Show how differences in the practices represent different folkways or general cultural patterns.
4. What factors are associated with the time of the beginning of pubescence? How would you account for the earlier pubescence today than a generation or more ago?
5. Look up further data on the distribution of adolescents. What factors affect this?
6. An annotated bibliography of popular literature involving adolescents is presented in Appendix B. Read one or more of these books along with your readings from this text. Note the characteristics of the individuals involved, and the problems encountered by the adolescent. Has the writer

presented a description of the adolescent and his problems which is in harmony with the materials presented throughout this book?

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II

Problems of Adolescents

The attainment of maturity brings with it many problems. Any period of change is likely to be a period fraught with them, and since the adolescent period is concerned with growth and development as well as changed interests and aspirations, it will be accompanied by many potential difficulties. A more complete discussion of these will be presented in the subsequent chapters bearing on different phases of the life and development of adolescents. The increased complexity of our social and economic order has introduced many problems that did not exist at an earlier period. Any training program that is going to be effective must take into consideration the problems and needs of those with whom the program is primarily concerned.

Classification of problems. Various techniques have been used in studying the problems of adolescents. The early studies by G. Stanley Hall made use of adolescent diaries as a means of gathering information about their characteristics and problems. More recent studies have modified this, and have introduced the questionnaire or check list procedure.

According to Laycock the problems of the adolescent throughout the ages may be grouped around the following major tasks:

(1) Making adjustment to his changing physical growth and physiological development; (2) becoming emancipated from his family and free from too great emotional dependence on his parents; (3) accepting his own characteristic sex role and making adjustments to the opposite sex; (4) finding and entering on a suitable vocation; and (5) forging some sort of philosophy which will give meaning and purpose to life.¹

A recent study of the problems of high school pupils was made through the use of an essay submitted by each of 1,904 pupils enrolled in Cleveland High School, St. Louis.² As a preparation for this work a

¹ S. R. Laycock: "Helping Adolescents Solve Their Problems," *The Educational Digest*, November, 1942, p. 32.

² Charlotte Pope: "Personal Problems of High School Pupils," *School and Society*, 1943, 57, pp. 443-448.

statement was first read to the pupils indicating what was to be done, and this was followed by a discussion of what was meant by personal problems. In order that the students should be more frank in a description of their problems, they were instructed not to sign their names. The pupils ranged from eleven to nineteen years of age and listed a total of 7,103 problems. The problems were then grouped into six areas. The per cent of problems listed in each of the areas by the boys and girls of the different grades is presented in Table III. Study-Learn-

TABLE III

PER CENT OF PROBLEMS LISTED BY HIGH SCHOOL BOYS AND GIRLS COMPRISING EACH OF SIX AREAS

Areas		GRADES				Total
		Nine	Ten	Eleven	Twelve	
Study-Learning Relationships	Boys	49	44	47	45	46
	Girls	44	47	39	39	42
Occupational Adjustment	Boys	18	21	23	35	24
	Girls	16	15	23	34	22
Personal Adjustment	Boys	12	10	7	5	8
	Girls	15	13	15	11	13
Home-Life Relationships	Boys	9	14	12	7	11
	Girls	15	12	12	7	11
Social Adjustment	Boys	8	8	6	7	7
	Girls	9	12	8	7	9
Health Problems	Boys	3	3	3	2	3
	Girls	1	2	3	3	2

ing Relationships presented the greatest number of problems for both boys and girls at all grade levels. "The greatest concern of youth has to do with their relationships with their teachers. This was shown by the fact that nearly fifty per cent of the total number of problems mentioned by pupils were in this area. They were concerned with the amount of home study, the teacher's unfairness, and his stern attitude."³ Other problems listed under Study-Learning Relationships were, in order of frequency: *study attitudes*, *educational guidance*, *physical condition*, and *habits of study*. This and other studies have shown that girls

³ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

are slightly more concerned about marks and grades than are boys. On the whole, pupils in the first year of high school were most concerned with school progress, whereas students of the upper high school years were especially concerned with *educational guidance*.

A *Problem Check List* devised by Ross L. Mooney⁴ was administered to 603 students of the Stephens-Lee High School, Asheville, North Carolina. The students responded favorably to the Check List, and a large number asked for a personal conference with someone to talk over certain problems suggested by it. The 330 items making up the Check List were classified into 11 areas; each area contained 30 items. The 11 areas are:

- Health and Physical Development
- Finances, Living Conditions, and Employment
- Social and Recreational Activities
- Courtship, Sex, and Marriage
- Social-Psychological Relations
- Personal-Psychological Relations
- Morals and Religion
- Home and Family
- The Future: Vocational and Educational
- Adjustment to School Work
- Curriculum and Teaching Procedures

Educational adjustments. The various studies reveal that educational difficulties loom large among the problems of high school growth. The fact that most adolescents are in school would provide an opportunity for this to be a major issue. Furthermore, insufficient and sometimes undesirable educational guidance results in many such problems; a fairly complete presentation of these is given in Chapter XI, "The Adolescent at School." That they are of frequent occurrence was revealed in a recent study of ninth and tenth grade boys and girls from several high schools of Connecticut.⁵ Educational problems were checked by a larger percentage of the boys and girls than was the case for any other classification of problems on the Check List, and among these the items most frequently checked were, in order of frequency: "don't like to study"; "being a grade behind in school"; "afraid of failing in school work"; "so often feel restless in class"; "getting low

⁴ Ross L. Mooney: "Surveying High-School Students' Problems by Means of a Problem Check List," *Educational Research Bulletin*, March 18, 1942.

⁵ Karl C. Garrison: *Unpublished Study*, 1945. In this study the *Problem Check List* devised by Ross L. Mooney was given to more than 400 boys and girls, representing a good cross section of the boys and girls of Connecticut.

grades in school"; "afraid to speak up in class"; "not smart enough"; "teachers expect too much work"; and "don't like school."

These results are somewhat in harmony with those obtained by Mooney in his study of the problems of high school pupils of the Stephens-Lee High School of Asheville, North Carolina. Eighty-seven per cent of these high school pupils indicated a marked concern for the problems in the area *Adjustment to School Work*. Several items were marked by more than twenty per cent of the group. These were: "being a grade behind in school"; "fear of failing in school"; "worrying about grades"; "trouble in mathematics and physics"; and "not spending enough time in study." An analysis of individual cases from such a Check List reveals different combinations of problems, although the percentages checking certain problems, such as "being a grade behind in school," show that there are some problems common to a large group of high school students. These problems are not valued by adults and adolescents on the same scale with respect to their seriousness; but a problem that gives adolescents much concern is a serious one and should be given definite consideration by those concerned with their guidance, even though it doesn't seem important to the teacher, parent, or counselor.

Home adjustments. Since most studies of adolescents' problems are made by people concerned with or interested in their educational program, problems related to the home are often not discovered or are neglected. These problems, however, are likely to be discovered in the psychological clinic. The characteristic listed as "parental troubles" ranks first among a list of symptoms manifested by boys and girls referred to the Educational Clinic of City College, New York.⁶

These may take the extreme form of a sharp emotional rejection of the child by a parent or both parents. Or it may be manifested in the uneven administration of discipline as between the two parents or by the same parent at different times. At times the trouble lies in an over-protective attitude of a parent. . . . The feature that ties all these forms together is the difficulty experienced in establishing a sound relationship between child and parent or the two parents.

In the study by Pope the problems relating to Home-Life Relationships were separated into four groups, and given in order of frequency as: *financial conditions of the home, parent-child relationships, home-*

⁶ Harold H. Abelson: *Annual Report of the City College Educational Clinic Thirtieth Year, 1942-1943*, The School of Education, College of the City of New York, p. 13.

school relationships, and *brother-sister relationships*. In harmony with other studies already referred to, problems connected with finance seemed more serious for the boys, whereas the other problems falling in this area were in general more serious for the girls.

All the home and family problems listed on the *Mooney Problem Check List* were checked by two per cent or more of the ninth and tenth grade pupils in the Connecticut study. However, only a few of these problems were checked by as many as ten per cent of the group. They were as follows: "being treated like a small child at home"; "never having any fun with father or mother"; "keeping secrets from my parents"; and "parents working too hard."

Throughout the Stephens-Lee High School, financial problems loomed very large. Over ninety per cent of the students marked one or more items from this area, and thirteen items were marked by ten per cent or more of the student group. The items frequently checked are as follows: "wanting to earn some money" (288), "learning how to spend money wisely" (168), "having to ask parents for money" (164), "learning how to save money" (157), "having no regular allowance or regular income" (108), "having no family car" (97), "needing a job during vacation" (94), "having less money than friends" (85), "too few nice clothes" (75), "living too far from school" (74), "needing to find part-time job" (67), "too little money for school lunches" (66), "getting money for education beyond high school" (65). In our present social order it is impossible for young people to live a normal social life without some material expense, much greater than that of their parents in the days of their own adolescence. Parents often fail to realize this difference in economic standards, and admonish the adolescent boy or girl thus: "When I was your age, I didn't have any money to spend." This attitude may become an important source of home conflict. Means for providing for these material expenses may come from one or more of three sources: (1) parents, kinspeople, or friends, (2) employment, or (3) illegal or illegitimate sources.

Health adjustments. The lack of sensitiveness to the problems of health is not simply a characteristic of one group, but on the contrary is found among a majority of adolescents. This observation no doubt reflects in a large measure certain attitudes that have been fairly widespread in our social order. Boys seem to sense the necessity for practicing good health habits more than do girls, a fact that is, perhaps, closely related to their greater participation in physical activities and athletic contests. Girls manifest more concern over sex guidance than

do boys, and pupils of the upper grades express this as a problem more frequently than do those of the first year of high school.

In the study by Mooney, fifty-five of the students showed concern over health and physical conditions. Other students, though not organizing so many responses around health and physical development, checked some items from that area. The frequently checked items from this area (marked by ten per cent or more of the students) were, in order: "weak eyes," "not as strong and healthy as I should be," "frequent headaches," "underweight," "poor teeth," "too short," "frequent sore throat," "tiring very easily," "poor complexion," "frequent colds," and "not getting enough exercise."

Vocational adjustments. Slightly less than one-fourth of the pupils in the study by Pope were concerned about their future vocations, although there was an increased concern about this among the students of the eleventh and twelfth grades. The problems listed comprising this area were, in order of frequency, as follows: *selection of a vocation, vocational preference, preparation for a vocation, necessity for part-time employment, and admittance to a vocation.*

The fact that 288 (forty-eight per cent) of the high school students of the Stephens-Lee High School want to earn some money of their own is proof that this is a pressing problem among adolescents. This view is further supported by the number checking the items, "having to ask parents for money," and "having no regular allowance." Because of changed social conditions, many problems involving money exist in the lives and activities of adolescents that were not present a generation or more ago, and this new factor must be given careful consideration in any program that is concerned with improving the adjustments of adolescents; a point that is very well illustrated in the case of a boy of the writer's acquaintance who was interviewed and asked to complete the Check List. This boy, referred to as J. W., marked thirty-eight problems, a large number of which are in the area of *Finances, Living Conditions, and Employment.* These are the problems marked within this area:

- Wanting to earn some money of my own
- Having to ask parents for money
- Having no car in the family
- Needing a job in vacations
- Having less money than friends have
- Having to watch every penny I spend
- Too little money for school lunches
- Getting money for education beyond high school
- Too little money for recreation

May have to quit school to go to work
 Needing to find a part-time job now
 Too few nice clothes

Personal-social problems. The adolescent's desire to be accepted by his peers is well known to those who have worked with adolescent boys and girls. In the California study the same adolescents were examined every six months by the same physician.⁷ This presented an unusual opportunity for discovering the adjustment problems of boys and girls resulting from their physical characteristics. A review of the records of the physician who examined these boys and girls reveals that a number were definitely disturbed concerning certain physical characteristics. They bear out the idea presented by Herbert and Lois Stolz.⁸

For a girl in adolescence, any somatic condition which interferes with her acceptance by girls, or prevents her from looking and acting in keeping with her ideals of being attractive, or which makes the boys avoid her, will certainly be a potential hazard. For a boy, one finds concern to be clustered around somatic conditions which keep him from looking masculine, from doing the things which win him prestige among other boys, from being popular with girls, and, toward later adolescence, from achieving success in preparation for his chosen vocational pursuit.

A problem frequently encountered by those dealing with adolescents who are socially maladjusted is that of lack of friends. This area seems to present more problems for girls than for boys. More students, in their daydreams, long for someone to be friendly to them than wish for riches or fame. At the Stephens-Lee High School some problems were checked more often by boys, whereas others were checked more often by girls. Mooney concludes from such a comparison:

Girls at all grade-levels clearly lead the boys in their constellation of cases in the psychological area, that is, in the area of "Personal-Psychological Relations" and "Social-Psychological Relations." Without clear leadership at all grade-levels, the girls also show more sensitivity to "Home and Family" problems. The boys at all grade-levels clearly lead the girls in their constellation of cases in the areas of "The Future: Vocational and Educational," and "Adjustment in School Work," with a slight but consistent leadership at all grade-levels in "Courtship, Sex, and Marriage" and "Morals and Religion."⁹

⁷ H. E. Jones: "The Adolescent Growth Study," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 1939, 3, pp. 157-159, 177-180.

⁸ H. R. Stolz and Lois Meek Stolz: "Adolescent Problems Related to Somatic Variations," *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, 1944, Chap. V, p. 85. (Quoted by permission of the Society.)

⁹ *Op cit.*, p. 67.

Table IV gives the problems found by Mooney among a significant number of high school pupils. It is apparent from these data that high

TABLE IV

ITEMS FROM THE PERSONAL, SOCIAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS
AREAS CHECKED BY TEN PER CENT OR MORE OF THE
HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS (*After Mooney*).

	<i>Number Marking</i>
<i>Personal Psychological Relations:</i>	
Forgetting things	176
Not taking some things seriously enough	174
Losing my temper	143
Afraid of making mistakes	132
Taking some things too seriously	131
Nervousness	104
Worrying	85
Sometimes wishing I had never been born	83
Cannot make up my mind about things	79
Daydreaming	73
<i>Social and Recreational Activities:</i>	
So often not allowed to go out at night	139
Taking care of clothes and other belongings	107
Wanting to learn how to dance	87
Wanting to learn how to entertain	80
Too little social life	68
Too little chance to go to shows	65
Too little chance to do what I want to do	65
In too few school activities	64
<i>Courtship, Sex, and Marriage:</i>	
Wondering if I'll ever find a suitable mate	104
Wondering if I'll ever get married	72
Not being allowed to have dates	70
Girl friend	69
Deciding whether I'm in love	68
<i>Social-Psychological Relations:</i>	
Wanting a more pleasing personality	113
Being disliked by certain persons	97
Disliking certain persons	84
Feelings too easily hurt	80
Lacking leadership ability	61
<i>Morals and Religion:</i>	
Can't forget some mistakes I've made	148
Wondering what becomes of people when they die	103
Being punished for something I didn't do	96
Trying to break off a bad habit	84

The Future: Vocational and Educational:

Wondering what I'll be like ten years from now	312
Wondering if I'll be a success in life	192
Deciding whether or not to go to college	140
Wanting advice on what to do after high school	138
Choosing best courses to prepare for college	114
Not knowing what I really want	108
Needing information about occupations	76
Needing to know my vocational abilities	66
Choosing best courses to prepare for a job	66
Needing to plan ahead for the future	62

school students are concerned over their future, and especially has this been found to be the case of senior high school boys and girls. Other characteristics noted by Abelson as occupying a prominent place in the list of manifestations noted for 1942-43 are: "social-emotional immaturity, 'nervousness,' motivational lack, aggressiveness, speech defect, and sibling rivalry. Characteristics associated with delinquency—truancy, lying, stealing, and sex—are noted relatively infrequent."¹⁰ This is in harmony with findings obtained at the Educational Clinic of City College in the previous year.

Heterosexuality. Many problems connected with boy-girl relationships appear with the onset of adolescence. These are discussed quite fully in a subsequent chapter. During the early period of adolescence, problems pertaining to teasing, bashfulness, and wanting to ask a girl for a date, or to the unwillingness of parents to let the individual date, loom large. The problems of "how to go about dating," and "knowing when I'm in love" were checked by a fairly large percentage of the ninth and tenth grade pupils in the Connecticut study. A fourteen-year-old boy in the ninth grade made the following notation:

"Girls are a problem of mine. I like a girl and I don't know whether or not she likes me or another boy, a friend of mine.

I would like to have a date with this girl but my mother won't let me."

At a later stage, problems related to "going steady," "wondering if I'll ever get married," and "not enough dates" are very prevalent. Among college girls, the writer found "wondering if I'll ever get married" checked more than any other problem of the *Mooney Problem Check List*,¹¹ a finding in harmony with the results of the study by Mooney of senior high school students in Asheville. (See Table IV.)

¹⁰*Op cit.*, p. 13.

¹¹ Unpublished materials on file with the writer.

Summary. The increased complexity of our social order has brought about a greater demand for guidance and training, if growing boys and girls are to be able to meet satisfactorily the conditions that they will face tomorrow. However, *growing up* itself is accompanied by many problems. These relate to various aspects of the adolescent's life and are very real and significant to the individual boy or girl concerned, although they may appear trivial to the mature adult. These problems may persist for some time and, during this time, be a source of much trouble and unhappiness to the adolescent.

Problems of adolescents have been classified in various ways; they will vary with social and economic conditions as well as with the customs and practices of the social group. Problems among preadolescents will be related, in a large degree, to their personal needs, whereas those of older boys and girls are more often connected with social needs. In the subsequent chapters the needs of adolescents will be given special consideration in connection with the special phases of growth and personality characteristics of the group under discussion.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Report on the types of problems found in the lives of some adolescents in fiction or in the movies. Do you regard these as true to life? (See Appendix B for a bibliography.)
2. Show how the problems of adolescents have changed as a result of industrialization and urbanization.
3. Compare the problems of preadolescents with those of adolescents.
4. How do the problems among the high school boys and girls at Asheville compare with those you have noted in your observations and experiences? What uses can be made of an inventory of the problems of a group of high school boys or girls?

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PART II

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT DURING ADOLESCENCE

III

Physical Development

What is meant by development? As we study boys and girls of high school age, we find that they are to be understood only as a product of development, and as in the process of development. It is the purpose of Chapters III, IV, and V to discuss the general nature of adolescent development, and to study some of the paramount problems of this period of life.

All living things live in some sort of external environment. This, because of its nature, is always changing; change seems to be one of the universal laws of nature. Changes in the individual's environment influence him in many ways, and under these influences his behavior is modified. Now the word "development" in its usual sense refers to change in some desirable direction. In the moral realm it oftentimes refers to the growth of desirable social and religious habits or tendencies of behavior; in the physical realm it is used to denote the growth of the body structures; educationally it has reference to educational achievement. However, a more careful study of the exact meaning of the word reveals that it denotes change exclusively, and that this change may be either desirable or undesirable. Furthermore, changes are ever present in living cells—as someone has put it, "life is a process of changing." Thus the individual is constantly faced with new and different environmental forces of two special types. The one is organic, and is in essence the physiological processes occurring in all living organisms; energy is being made available through the metabolic processes related to food assimilation, and this is released through activity.

The other force is represented by man's external environment, which continuously stimulates him to reaction. Concerning these forces, Dashiell says: "The most interesting phases of the life of man are those in which he is found to be maladjusted—when an emergency, major or minor, confronts him and adaptive behavior on his part ensues."¹ Thus adaptations are the consequences of the search for *better* adaptations; and development proceeds as the individual succeeds in establishing more satisfying relations within himself and with his environment. Yet, as we have suggested, particular adaptations may be either desirable or undesirable: for example, they may be individually desirable and socially undesirable; moreover, they may be desirable on one occasion and undesirable on another.

How development occurs. The growth and development of all living organisms depend upon two factors: the internal and the external. The internal factors are those of the hereditary constitution of the organism, and the external those of the environment. In certain respects the two sets of factors cannot be separated, since experience is a matter of their interaction; but for purposes of study the influence of each is often analyzed and contrasted with the influence of the other.

In an earlier paragraph it was stated that the individual is in close touch with the environment at all times. From the moment the egg is fertilized—the beginning of the individual—until death, we may say that the person is always responding to stimuli. During his entire life he is continuously in a state of adjustment to environmental stimuli. His behavior may very well be considered as composed of a series of responses to a continuous series of successive situations.

We should raise the question about what factor or factors in the relation of the individual and his environment make for development. At present we are unable to give a complete answer to this question, and probably we will never be able to answer it as completely as we would desire. From what we know of individuals and their development, it now seems certain that they are organized through their reactions to stimuli. We frequently speak of the action of the environment upon the individual, yet we do not mean exactly what the statement implies. The individual always reacts to the stimulus. He is active toward the environment and cannot be thought of as an inert, static thing merely being impressed by its surroundings. Activity toward a situation tends to change the meaning of a situation so that it is never again the same for

¹ J. F. Dashiell: *Fundamentals of Objective Psychology*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928, p. 29.

the individual. Not only does activity toward a situation tend to give meaning to the situation, but it develops characteristic ways of behaving—habits. It thus appears that the individual is organized or developed through his reactions to stimuli. By control of the nature of the environment, the individual's reactions—and thus his development—may be controlled.

Concerning this problem as it relates to development during infancy, Gesell says:

The swiftness of development in infancy no one will be disposed to deny. The orderliness of this development is not so well recognized, but it is a fact of great significance. There are certain basic uniformities in the dynamics of development which apply to all infants, normal, abnormal, superior or inferior. There is a large system of uniformities which characterize all normal infants and keep them traveling on highly similar routes and on highly similar time tables. These uniformities are not stereotyped; they shade into small but important variations.²

The forces of heredity and environment are constantly operating in developing similarities and variations. It is commonly known that organisms arise through some process of reproduction, and it is with reference to this process that heredity is studied. Usually, there is a striking similarity between parent and offspring; invariably, heredity at least sets limits within which, whatever the environmental conditions may be, the individual's development will be confined.

Although it is often the custom to set the individual against environment, we find upon examination that he is in intimate relation with it at every turn; in fact, we find that only by definition can we separate the individual and his environment. There is a continuous interaction between them so long as the individual survives. Any statement regarding the individual which takes account of his biological nature must emphasize this mutual relationship. It may be emphasized thus: *the individual may be conceived of as protoplasm capable of maintaining itself by responding to a changing environment; during life, many of these responses become fixed or characteristic, so that we may consider an individual as a bit of protoplasm possessing more or less definite patterns of response.* Or, if we desire to think of him purely in terms of action, we may say: *the individual is a relational sum-total of behavior patterns developed in protoplasm in response to environment*—in which sense the individual is considered neither as protoplasm nor as en-

² Arnold Gesell: *Infancy and Human Growth*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928, p. 124.

vironment but as the result of the reaction of the one to the other.

Physical development—methods of study. Not only is it of interest to study the mutual relation of hereditary and environmental forces in development, but a knowledge of the general nature of growth itself is of value to those who wish to understand the changes appearing at the onset of adolescence.

In general, three methods have been used in the study of the physical development of children. The first in point of historical and frequent use is that of studying weight-height-age relationships. For the average parent and teacher, this is the most practical method to use. A study of either weight or height alone gives very little information, because children of the same sex, age, race, and environmental conditions vary greatly. Weight is probably a less reliable measure of physical development than height; however, when individual measurements only are considered, it is the one more generally used. A child may become heavy simply as a result of fat accumulation with no real growth in the number of tissue cells. Or just the opposite may happen: he may lose weight because he is using up adipose tissue, while at the same time the number of tissue cells is increasing.

Measurements of height furnish a much more accurate index of growth because they really indicate growth in terms of the length of the skeleton. This measure is fallible, however, because the bones may be growing in thickness, the cavities may be decreasing in size, and chemical constituents are, perhaps, being very greatly altered.

Because physical measurements are easy to make, they offer great possibilities if carefully interpreted. It is questionable, however, whether they are worth a great deal in the hands of a poorly trained school nurse or nutrition worker. Their chief value lies in the fact that they are easy to make and are objective, thus giving the teacher or school nurse a method of detecting extreme variations from the norm. Such cases should always be brought to the attention of competent medical authorities.

Baldwin³ and others have studied physical development by means of repeated measurements. By this method Baldwin was able to plot growth curves for individuals, as well as curves for the sexes and for different groups of individuals. While this method of studying physical development is not of so much immediate practical value, measurements kept over a period of time furnish a permanent, objective picture

³ Bird T. Baldwin: "The Physical Growth of Children from Birth to Maturity," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1921, I, No. 1.

from which the effect of various factors on development can be studied. Such measures make possible both the scientific determination of how individuals grow and predictions about future growth. They also make an intelligent system of guidance feasible.

It is recognized that physical measurements do not give a reliable index to physiological and anatomical maturity. It is known that children of the same chronological age and the same size may vary greatly in their physiological and anatomical development.

A third method of studying development relates to measurements which give results possible of interpretation in terms of ages. There are two of these ages, the anatomical and the physiological. Some workers differentiate between these while others do not. *Anatomical age* has reference to the degree of physical development which a child has attained. It represents the point he has attained in his development toward physical maturity or adulthood. It does not have reference to size, weight, health, or strength. *Physiological age* is a term which has been largely used in connection with the development of the reproductive powers. In general, three physiological ages are spoken of: the prepubescent, the pubescent, and the postpubescent.

The anatomical and physiological ages have been determined in various ways. The eruption of the permanent teeth has been used as a standard by a number of workers.⁴ Crampton⁵ and others have called attention to the fact that the onset of puberty is a good index of anatomical development. Baldwin,⁶ following the lead of earlier workers, used X-ray photographs of the surface areas of the carpal bones in the wrist. This seems to be the most reliable measure, since it is based on the degree of the development of the skeleton, which is fundamental to all physical growth.

Growth in height and weight. Any tables of averages are likely to be very misleading, especially in respect to children's growth periods. Norms for height and weight should therefore be used with caution. There are different types of individuals—the tall, the short, and the thickset; and although the graphs obtained from statistics of large groups represent general tendencies, the attempt to apply the same formulae of growth to all individuals will meet with failure. Children

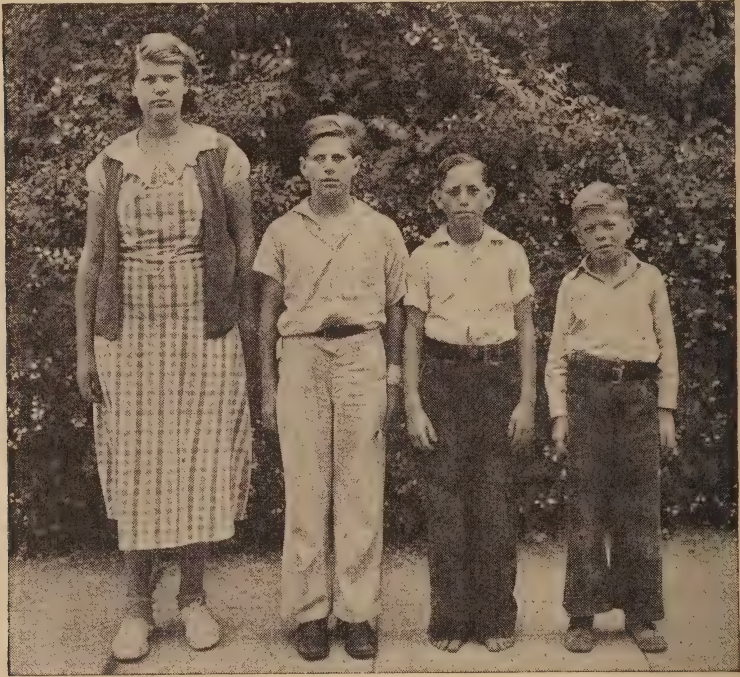
⁴ R. B. Bean: "The Eruption of the Teeth as a Physiological Standard for Testing Development," *The Pedagogical Seminary*, 1914, 21, pp. 596-614.

⁵ C. W. Crampton: "Anatomical or Pedagogical Age Versus Chronological Ages," *The Pedagogical Seminary*, 1908, 15, pp. 230-237.

⁶ Bird T. Baldwin: "Physical Growth of Children from Birth to Maturity," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1921, 1, No. 1.

of the same age vary enormously when measured with respect to any developmental feature. They vary not only with respect to measurements made at any given time, but with respect to the rate and progress of development as well.

Just prior to the advent of puberty there is increased growth in height. Since pubescence appears earlier for girls than for boys, this increased rate of growth occurs earlier among girls. The amount by



Courtesy, Los Angeles Public Schools.

Four twelve-year-olds; the same in age but different in physical development and other characteristics.

which the growth of girls between 10 and 13 years exceeds that in boys of the same age level is a good measure of trunk growth; and growth among girls after the thirteenth year is almost entirely trunk growth.

An examination of the materials in Figure 2 reveals the fact that there is a marked increase in the percentage of gain in weight at those ages where pubescence normally occurs. In addition to the increase in height and weight, there is a general change in the proportions of various bodily parts. The arms and legs change with the rate of growth of different parts of the body. The arms and legs grow in length and

become firmer; the hands and feet become larger. Other parts show equally important changes in the rate of growth. The most significant fact with respect to these growth changes is that there is wide variability among both boys and girls.

The only adequate way of finding out exactly when any acceleration

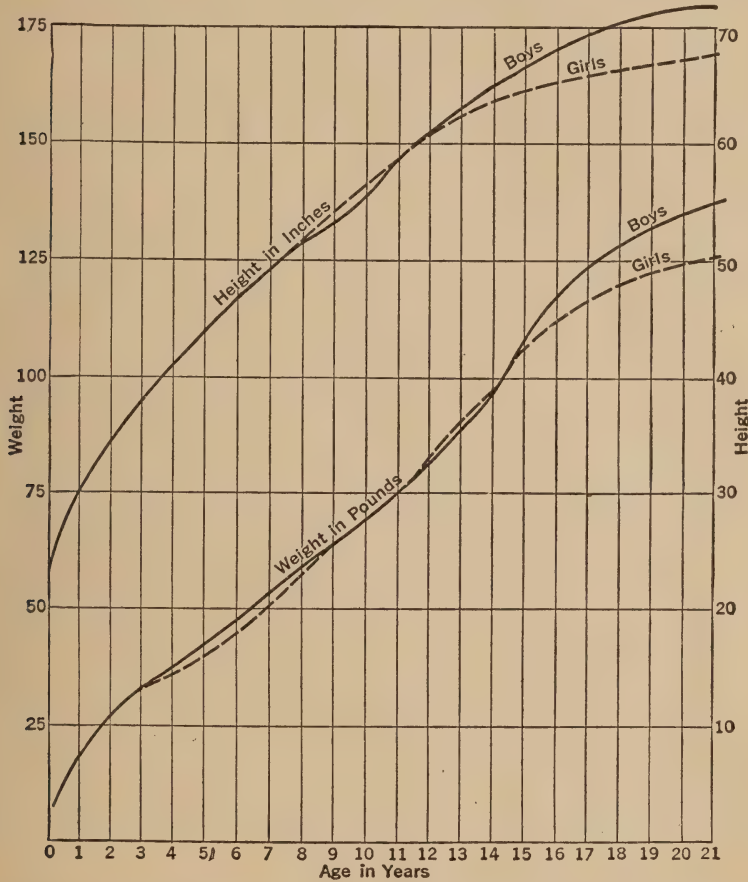


FIG. 2. Age changes in height and weight. (From Gilliland: *Genetic Psychology*, Ronald Press, p. 149. These graphs are based upon a summary of data from the records of Baldwin, Boas, Crum, Smedley, and others.)

in growth takes place is to secure individual growth curves for a few years before and after the advent of puberty. This has been done and is reported in a recent study which throws considerable light on this problem, although only 60 girls were included.⁷ The greatest increase in height and weight occurred during the year before puberty. It is

⁷ G. E. Van Dyke: "The Effect of the Advent of Puberty on the Growth in Height and Weight of Girls," *School Review*, 1930, 38, pp. 211-221.

indeed noteworthy that the girls who matured at 12 years or younger, at 13, at 14, or at 15 had a greater increase in weight the year before puberty than either in the second year before puberty, in the year of, or during the year after puberty; essentially the same thing is true of

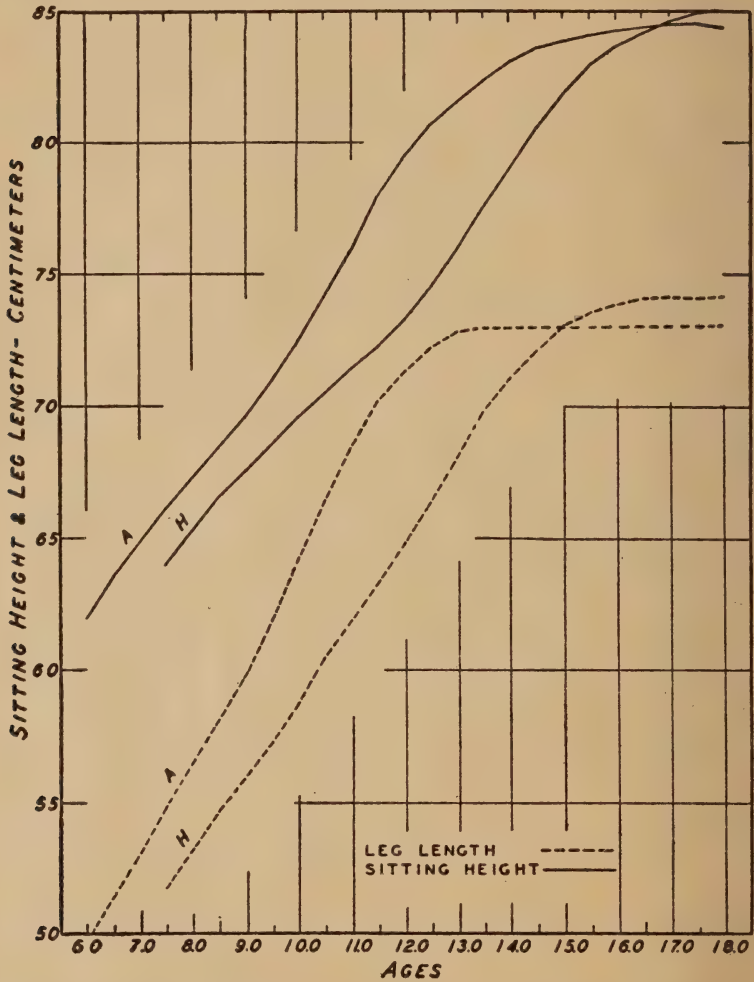


FIG. 3. Contrasting growth trends in average sitting height and leg length of early (group A) and of late (group B) maturing groups of girls. (After Shuttleworth.)

height. Anthropometrical data on 1,817 girls, ages 6 to 17 years, and on 1,884 boys, ages 6 to 18 years, who attended the Laboratory Schools of the University of Chicago were analyzed to compare rates of growth, weights, heights, and height-weight relationships. The subjects were divided into three maturity groups on the basis of objective criteria.

General conclusions were: (1) Differences in the height-weight relationship suggested differences in the bodily build of the three groups. (2) Statements concerning overweight or underweight should not neglect consideration of the maturity factor. (3) "Growth as measured by height and weight is slightly accelerated before puberty." (4) No significant differences were found in the heights of different female maturity groups after 15 years or in those of the different male maturity groups after 17 years. (5) Girls maturing before 13 years of age were, as a group, heavier at each age from 6 to 17 years than those who matured later, and those who matured between their thirteenth and fourteenth birthdays were heavier at all ages than those who matured after their fourteenth birthdays. (6) Boys who matured before their fourteenth birthdays were heavier than those who matured later, and those who matured between the fourteenth and fifteenth birthdays were heavier at all ages than those who matured after their fifteenth birthdays. (7) Girls and boys who matured earlier were taller than those who matured later.⁸

The growth trends of a group of girls menstruating before age 11 years and 6 months were compared with that of girls menstruating after age 14 years and 5 months.⁹ These trends show that those maturing early are consistently bigger up to age 15 in the case of leg length and to 17 in the case of sitting height. (See Figure 3.) Baldwin's individual-growth curves also show a rather close relation between physiological development and growth. Concerning the educational and social significance of height and weight, Baldwin says:

Height and weight, therefore, it would appear, offer excellent objective criteria for teachers and parents for determining the advent of menstruation as a factor in pubescent development and the onset of maturity. If the girl is tall, healthy, and well nourished, this physical stage may be reached as early as 11 years in a normal girl; if tall, but under weight, it may be delayed; if very short and markedly light, it may be delayed until 16 years of age.

These conditions have wide educational application both in physical training and school work. They emphasize the fact that the smaller child should be treated as a younger person who has not had the physical development and the accompanying mental disturbances and experiences which would

⁸ "The relation of accelerated normal and retarded puberty to the height and weight of school children," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1937, No. 8, pp. 1-67.

⁹ Frank K. Shuttleworth: "Sexual Maturation and the Physical Growth of Girls Age Six to Nineteen," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1937, 2, No. 5.

seem to be indicated by her chronological age in years, and which, too often, has been used as a basis of classification, training, and social activities.¹⁰

These statements are distinctly in harmony with the results found from a later study by Leal.¹¹ Leal found from measurements of 2,143 girls from grades 4 to 12 that there was a direct positive relation between the degree of physiological maturity and height. Thus, it might be stated as a general principle that, up to the onset of adolescence, development has proceeded rather rapidly and with fair uniformity, and that this development might further be considered as quantitative in nature. Even educational growth has been rather gradual and constant. In this country the average child who has entered school at 6 years of age will, if normal progress is made, reach the junior high school at the age of 12 or 13.

Anatomical development. Anatomical development pertains primarily to the skeletal system, and especially to changes in the structure of the bones. With the advent of adolescence, as has been pointed out, there is an increase in height and weight. But there is a further change in the composition of the bones (of the osseous and cartilaginous materials, and so forth) as the individual matures. The ossification of the bones proceeds gradually but is rather far advanced at the beginning of adolescence. After 5 or 6 years of age, girls show more advanced ossification than boys. This consistently advanced development of girls is very well shown by means of an anatomic index.¹² An index of ten indicates that 10 per cent of the area of the wrist shows ossification. At the age of 13, about 70 per cent of the area of the girl's wrist shows ossification, and there is a considerable slowing down in rate of development at this period. From an analysis of more than 6,500 X-ray pictures of the right hands of subjects from birth to maturity, Flory¹³ observed pronounced differences in the rate of growth. He noted that in case of sex differences, girls are ahead of boys at birth; they are about one year ahead at school age; they are approximately one and one-half years

¹⁰ Bird T. Baldwin: *Physical Growth and School Progress*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 10, 1914, pp. 67-68.

¹¹ M. A. Leal: "The Relationship Between Height and Physiological Maturity," *Journal of Educational Research*, 1932, 25, pp. 168-177.

¹² Bird T. Baldwin, Laura M. Bresby, and Helen V. Garside: "Anatomic Growth of Children, A Study of Some Bones of the Hand, Wrist, and Lower Forearm, By Means of Roentgenograms," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1928, 4, No. 1.

¹³ C. D. Flory: "Sex Differences in Skeletal Development," *Child Development*, 1935, 6, pp. 205-212.

ahead at age 9 and about two years ahead of boys at the average age for the onset of puberty.

The child's age at the time of the eruption of the permanent teeth was early used by Bean as an indicator of anatomical development. In discussing some of his extensive work relative to the value of such a method, Bean writes:

The teeth are more convenient and more exact as a means of determining the physiological standard than stature, or weight, or growth of bones, or secondary sexual characteristics, etc., and they may be of greater value than any other means that can be utilized.¹⁴

Later, dental records were obtained from studies of the growth of children conducted under the direction of Dearborn at Harvard University. Cattell¹⁵ has presented these data in the form of a dental-age scale, there being one scale for measuring the dental age of boys and a different one for girls. These scales are based on the total number of permanent teeth which have broken through the gums at different ages, and standards were established for 7,835 children of northern European descent. Figure 4 shows the variation in time of the eruption of permanent teeth for the different age levels. Notably, the scales clearly show sex differences, and the preadolescence of both boys and girls is marked by a period of accelerated eruption of the permanent teeth.

Endocrine factors in relation to development. Recent studies reveal a definite relationship between developmental changes and hormones produced by the pituitary gland. Two hormones from this gland are especially important in this connection. One of these is the growth hormone, which enables the healthy well-nourished child to attain his normal body size. If there is a deficiency of hormones from this gland, normal growth will be retarded, and a form of pituitary dwarfism will result. On the other hand, if an excess of the growth hormone is produced during the growing period, pituitary gigantism will follow.

Another pituitary hormone of special importance in maturation is the gonad-stimulating hormone. The action of these hormones in a normal, healthy child will cause the immature gonads to grow and eventually develop into mature ovaries or testes. This hormone, further-

¹⁴ R. B. Bean: "The Eruption of the Teeth as a Physiological Standard for Testing Development," *Pedagogical Seminary*, 1914, 21, pp. 596-614.

¹⁵ Psyche Cattell: "A Scale for Measuring Dental Age," *School and Society*, 1928, 27, pp. 52-56.

more, helps to sustain the normal function of the ovaries or testes of the individual after maturity. An inadequate production of the gonad-

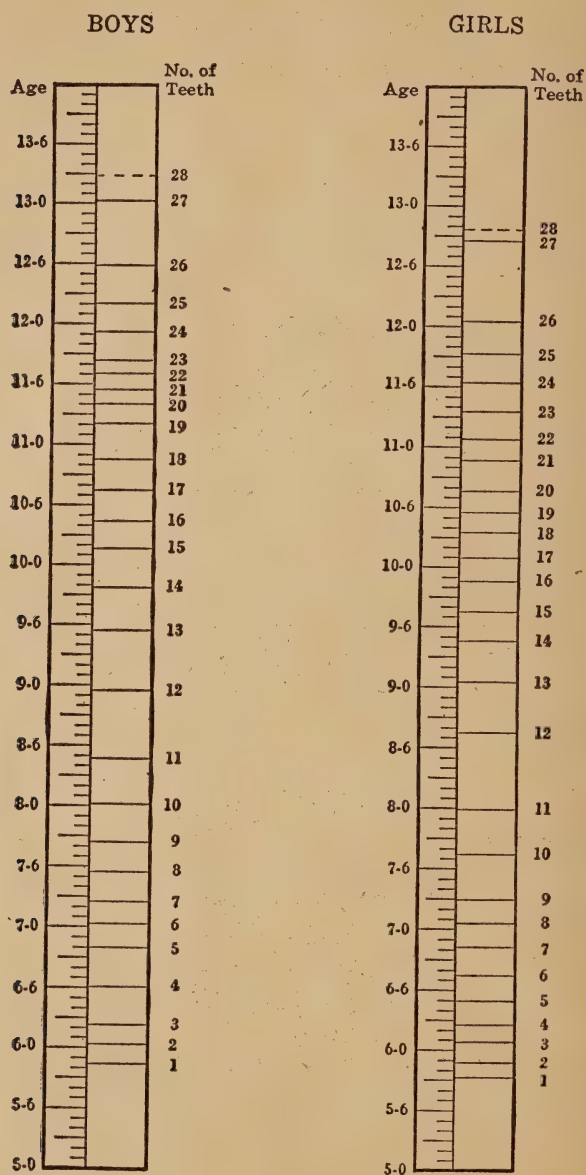


FIG. 4. The average number of teeth erupted at every age level for boys and girls. (Cattell: *Psyche*, 1928.)

stimulating hormone during preadolescence would interfere with the normal growth and development of the ovaries or testes, whereas too

much of the gonad-stimulating hormone would tend to produce a type of precocious sexual development.

The gonad-stimulating hormones act upon the pituitary gland in such a way as to reduce the effects of the growth hormone, and thus retard growth. Grenlich has pointed this out in the following statement:

If the testes or ovaries begin to function at the requisite level too early in life, growth is arrested prematurely and the child ends up abnormally short. If, on the other hand, the adequate production of the ovarian and testicular hormones is unduly delayed, growth, particularly that of the limbs, continues for too long a period and the characteristic bodily proportions of the eunuch are attained. It appears, therefore, that normal growth and development are contingent upon the reciprocal and properly timed action of pituitary and gonadal hormones.¹⁶

One of the earliest indications of the development of the girl during the preadolescent stage is the development of the breasts. The mammary nipple usually doesn't project above the level of the surrounding skin structures until the third year after birth. The nipple after this stage shows a slight elevation above the surrounding structures. There is no further pronounced change for the average girl until around the tenth year, when the so-called "bud" stage appears. This is soon followed by the development of the "primary" breast, resulting mainly from an increase in the fat surrounding and underlying the papilla (nipple) and surrounding skin area.

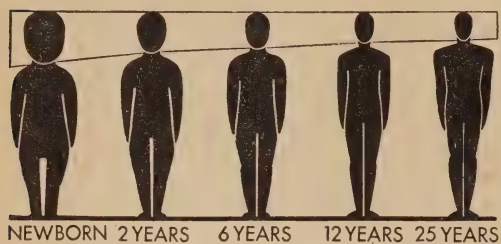
Unevenness of growth. The outstanding feature of growth, which sometimes continues up into the twenties, lies in the pronounced changes it effects in body proportion. The picture on page 34 shows the nature of these changing proportions with growth toward maturity. In the end most of the early disproportions in growth are "smoothed out," and the individual reaches normal maturity.

Boynton¹⁷ presents thirteen measurements of growth increments for anthropometric characteristics based on retests from ages 5.5 years to 16.5 years inclusive. His data show that although the 5½-year-old boy is 65 per cent as tall as he probably will be at 17.5 years, he weighs only 33 per cent as much and has only 18 per cent of the strength of grip he

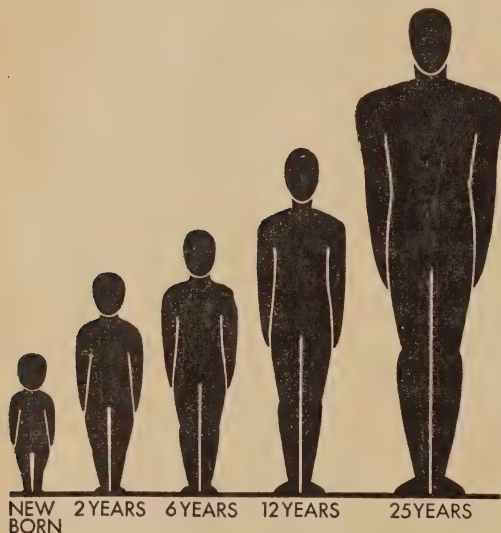
¹⁶ W. W. Grenlich: "Physical Changes in Adolescence," *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I, 1944, Chap. II, p. 16. (Quoted by permission of the Society.)

¹⁷ Paul Boynton and Juanita Curry Boynton: *Psychology of Child Development*. Minneapolis: Educational Publishers, Inc., 1938, p. 114.

will possess twelve years later. The brain of the child at birth weighs a little less than one pound. The number of cell bodies is apparently complete, and the neurones increase in size and richness of terminal ending up to the period of physical maturity. A small part of the growth of the nervous system consists in the medullation of fibers which, at birth, do not have the characteristic fatty white sheath. Medullation of cortical



PROPORTION CHANGING



PROPORTION & SIZE CHANGING

fibers continues through the periods of infancy and childhood, extending even into middle age. This may be important in relation to the growth in ability to deal with more complex mental processes.

With respect to weight and strength of grip, the average girl $5\frac{1}{2}$ years of age has approximately one-third of her 17-year development, but in the case of height, shoulder width, and ankle circumference she has approximately three-fourths of her ultimate development. Though the average girl is not completely developed in some respects at 17.5 years, there are certain elements of growth that are complete by the age of 15.5 years.

A further lack of uniformity in growth is in the development of lung capacity. Measurements made on groups of school children show that the increase of lung capacity is quite pronounced during the adolescent period. The greatest increase for girls occurs between the ages of 10 or 11 and 14, the greatest for boys from one to two years later. Furthermore, Bolton¹⁸ refers to studies by Smedley and by Leslie I. Reed in support of the idea that vital capacity is con-

¹⁸ F. E. Bolton: *Adolescent Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, p. 62.

siderably affected by the extent to which one engages in physical exercises. Baldwin's researches show that the physical curves for the development of lung capacity are quite similar to those for the development of weight and height in that they indicate an early preadolescent retardation followed by an increased adolescent growth. This same general curve of growth is to be found for the liver.

Tests for strength of arm, strength of back, tapping, and endurance all reveal that there is a great acceleration with the onset of adolescence. At the age of 8 the muscles constitute slightly over one-fourth the body weight, whereas at 16 they constitute approximately 45 per cent. At the age of 16 the strength of grip has become practically double what it was at the age of 11. However, following this period, growth continues for some time, but at a declining rate as the individual reaches complete maturity.

Blood pressure, heart, and pulse rates. The blood pressure of both boys and girls increases with age. During early childhood, there is little difference between the sexes, but between the ages of 10 and 13 blood pressure is higher in girls than in boys; after the age of 13 the pressures of boys exceed those of girls, the differences increasing with age.¹⁹ This is an example of the general trend toward an earlier incidence of maturity among girls, which has been pointed out in connection with other developmental characteristics. Blood pressure probably decreases in girls after the age of 16—during the postpubescent period. There is some evidence that high blood pressure is related to the onset of puberty. However, blood pressure has little relationship to the height of the individual and only a moderate relationship to weight.

An exaggerated fear that the adolescent, through exertion, will overtax his heart still exists, and is usually explained on the basis of a lack of harmony between the development of the heart and that of the blood vessels. This idea has persisted for some time and was pointed out as early as 1879 by Beneke.²⁰ On the basis of data collected, he pointed out that the volume of the heart increases in proportion to the body weight, the circumference of the aorta and the pulmonary artery increases in proportion to the body length. These observations are essentially correct but the interpretations and generalizations based on them are misleading. As late as 1931 a text translated from German stated:

¹⁹ H. G. Richey: "The Blood Pressure in Boys and Girls Before and After Puberty," *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 1931, 42, p. 1328.

²⁰ F. W. Beneke: *Über das Volumen des Herzens und die Weite der Arteria pulmonalis und Aorta ascendens*. Marburg: V. Theodor Kay, 1879.

. . . the heart of an adult man is three times the size of the child's, while the proportionate circumference of the aorta (close to the heart) remains the same. . . . We can readily see that no system of exercise can meet the first principles of practical hygiene, unless it recognizes the physiological condition described.

In spite of these and other contentions, Karpovich points out, from a careful analysis of Beneke's own data, that: "Contrary to an established notion, there is no discrepancy between the development of the heart and the cross section of the largest arteries."²¹ Using the principle established in hydromechanics that the volume of a fluid passing through an opening is equal to the product of the velocity by the area of the cross section of the opening, he presents data showing that there is not a "natural disharmony" existing between the volume of the heart and the size of the blood vessels. On the basis of these findings there is no justification for a reorganization of the physical activities during adolescence because of a smaller heart volume in proportion to the size of the blood vessels.

Motor development. Studies of motor skills in children show, in general, that ability on all tasks improves with age. Skill tests for adolescents have included dart throwing, quoits, balancing, jumping, kicking high into the air, running, reaching, and turning the body.²² During the years 1934 to 1938, seriatim measures of gross motor performances were obtained for approximately 165 girls and boys in the adolescent growth study conducted by the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of California. Motor performances were considered as certain abilities of a motor nature within the individual, especially embodying co-ordination, speed, strength, and accuracy. The measurement of motor performances was designed to sample these abilities. Repeated measurements pointed to the following conclusions:

Mean performances of boys in all events have been found to increase steadily and markedly throughout the age range studied but performances of girls in some events reach a maximum at approximately fourteen years and then decline gradually. When mean scores by skeletal and physiological

²¹ Peter V. Karpovich: "Textbook Fallacies Regarding the Development of the Child's Heart," *The Research Quarterly of the American Association for Health and Physical Exercise*, 1937, 8, p. 36.

²² Anna Espenshade: "Motor Performance in Adolescence," *Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1940, 5, p. 118. Chapter 1 of this study presents a splendid review of the literature. A good summary of experimental studies of this problem to 1934 is presented by Stoddard and Wellman in *Child Psychology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934, Chap. III.

ages were computed, the same steady increase with age occurs in all events for boys but slight changes in trend are noted in certain events for girls. According to all measures of growth, however, girls (after a mean chronological age of fourteen years) show a gradual decline in dash and broad jump records, a fairly steady position in distance throw and Brace test and an increase in jump and reach scores. Thus growth in ability to perform motor acts reaches its maximum at approximately fourteen years of age in girls but continues in boys through the seventeenth year. There are, of course, wide individual differences in rate of growth and in levels of ability.

Philip tested 165 girls and 146 boys and found a decrease in reaction time between the ages of 9 and 16.²³ There was a significant improvement with age in speed of reaction to light and sound. This improvement was apparent both for reactions with and without a warning signal. Boys were from 3 to 5 per cent faster than girls. This greater speed for boys had been noted in previous studies. Philip attributes this to previous experiences of boys calling for quickness of reaction time.

The development of physical fitness was studied by Jokl and Cluver²⁴ among a group of children from five to twenty years of age. No difference in performance was found among the different racial groups, although constitutional factors appeared to influence the development of physical efficiency more than environmental ones. In the case of endurance, measured by the 600-yard run, both boys and girls improved from six to thirteen years. The improvement up to thirteen years was about the same for both sexes; but after this stage of development boys continued to improve, whereas the girls lost in efficiency, so that in the range from seventeen to twenty the girls' ability was about that of six- to eight-year-olds. This decline in efficiency was reflected not only in their running time, but was present also in their physical condition as revealed by their pulse rate, respiration, and fatigue. It seems likely that this early decline in motor ability among girls is a result of their habits and practices: that is, girls show an increased interest in social activities at a fairly early age, and a lack of interest in participating in athletics and other forms of muscular activities.

Closely connected with the question of muscular development are the obvious changes of voice in early adolescence. They are much more evident in the case of boys and constitute one of the external signs of the advent of puberty. They are the effect of the rapid growth of the

²³ B. R. Philip: "Reaction Time of Children," *Amer. Jour. Psychol.*, 1934, 46, pp. 379-396.

²⁴ E. Jokl and E. H. Cluver: "Physical Fitness," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1941, 116, pp. 2383-2389.

larynx, or the "Adam's apple," and a corresponding lengthening of the vocal cords that stretch across it. These become approximately double their former length with a consequent drop of an octave in pitch—an instance of the well-known law of physics that a taut string emits a lower tone on being lengthened. The voice of girls is not subject to such an outright transformation. In maturity, the female voice may be little lower, if at all, than it was in childhood, although it should be fuller and richer. In boys there is not only a change of pitch but there is also an increase in volume, and often the voice becomes more pleasant in quality.

It requires two or more years for the youth to achieve control of his voice in the lower register, and during that time he is often made self-conscious by the roughness of his own tones. He is mortified by the unexpected squeaks which punctuate his bass rumblings. Such whimsical "breakings" cause him to feel that he is making himself ridiculous—an opinion that is often confirmed, unfortunately, by the mirth with which others greet his vocal vagaries.

This difference in rate of physiological maturity may be a source of anxiety to the adolescent. When Bill's pal, Henry, suddenly surpasses him in physical development, develops a bass voice, and begins to shave, Bill may wonder whether he is normal in development. This difference between his appearance and that of his pal may become so pronounced that he finds himself seeking other pals, and may even resort to social behavior not wholly acceptable, in an effort to prove himself.

Effects of nutrition and living conditions. A number of studies have been made of the relationship between the living conditions of children and their physical development.²⁵ These studies indicate that children who live in undesirable slum areas average, during the elementary school years, from three to five inches shorter and from eight to twelve pounds lighter than children from good homes. No one can say just how much these differences are due to poor feeding, inadequate ventilation, unsanitary living conditions, ill-balanced rest and recreation, or deficient inheritance. Quantitative experiments were carried on as early as 1924 with large numbers of families of rats, continuing through successive generations and covering the entire life cycle of each individual.²⁶ These have shown that an improvement of an already

²⁵ L. M. Terman and J. C. Almack: *The Hygiene of the School Child* (Revised Edition). New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929.

²⁶ H. C. Sherman and H. L. Campbell: *Journal of Biological Chemistry*, 1924, 50, pp. 5-15.

adequate diet (1) expedited growth and development, (2) resulted in a higher level of adult vitality, and (3) extended the average length of life expectancy. There are evidences from many different kinds of experiments that this same sort of improvement of food supplies, that is, the taking of a larger proportion of the needed calories in the form of what has been called "protective foods," acts to support superior development in children and an increased number of years of good health and vigor among adults.

Importance of studying physical development. Physical development has been studied by various investigators by means of repeated measurements. Through the use of this method one is able to plot individual-growth curves as well as curves for different groups that would show race or sex differences. The greatest value of this method lies in the use made of measurements when kept over a period of time: they then furnish a permanent, objective picture, and the effects of various factors on development can be studied. Such measurements give a rather reliable index of the rate and periodicity of growth of boys and girls during adolescence.

In addition to the scientific value which data relative to growth may have, there are many applications that might be made of such data to a further understanding and guidance of growing boys and girls. Thus a study of the physiological differences in the rate of development of the sexes will give one a better perspective on the earlier changes of interest among girls during their passage from childhood to more adult activities. This variation within either sex for the same age is again important in its relation to the physical education program. Still further, it appears that variation should be considered in the general sectioning of pupils, since pupils who have the same degree of physiological maturity tend to play together, being more alike in their social interests and activities. And, of course, mental-hygiene problems, behavior disorders connected with problems of discipline, pathological disturbances, and other maladjustments also can be better understood by studying the pupil's physical development. On the whole, then, the knowledge of these facts may establish one of the bases for a program well-suited to individuals' needs, permit better sectioning for extracurricular activities, and foster more harmonious social relationships.

Summary. Growth begins with the fertilization of the egg cell, and birth merely extends the sphere of activity. There are many factors determining the nature, direction, and amount of development that will take place. There are certain biological laws that enable us to pre-

dict development when it occurs in average environmental conditions. Although varying circumstances may alter the direction and amount of development, it is still characterized by its unity. The growing child is a unified whole, and the nature of development of one part of the body must be considered in connection with its relation to other parts. Even though there is a lack of uniformity in the growth of different parts of the body, a continuous, interrelated form of growth is ever-present.

Height-weight charts, the anatomical index, dental age norms as well as other physical measurements have been used in the study of the growth process. Repeated measurements made on boys and girls from year to year show a distinct sex difference in the age for the onset of puberty and accelerated growth. The preadolescent decline in the general rate of growth followed by the adolescent spurt is about one and one-half years earlier on the average for girls than for boys. However, individual growth curves show that this will vary considerably with different individuals of the same sex. There is a wide variation in the age of the onset of puberty, as well as the variation referred to in the general physical development. Variations in growth may be affected by such extraneous factors as exercise, living conditions, and diet. Since growth is affected by so many factors, it becomes very difficult to set forth simple formulae or predictive procedures to estimate it for different stages of life.

The results from the developmental studies reported at the University of Iowa, at Harvard, and at the University of California have been summarized as follows:

1. A period of relatively slow growth for two or three years prior to the prepubertal growth spurt.
2. A prepubertal spurt in growth which is earlier for girls than for boys. In the case of girls the twelfth year frequently is the time at which they make their largest annual gain in height.
3. A decrease in rate of growth following puberty.
4. Sufficient consistency in stature rank in the group during elementary-school years for competent prediction in the groupings, "tall" and "medium," and to a less extent in the classification of "short."
5. A seasonal variation in weight gain. In general, weight increase of children is greatest in autumn, somewhat less in summer, and least in winter and spring. Seasonal variation in height is not clearly indicated.
6. Individual differences are prevalent and important. An individual not only differs from other children; he also is different from himself from time to time. Although there are important general trends, there appears to be

slight uniformity in the development of his various traits and abilities. The result of this variability in growth is that in the intermediate grades—Grades V, VI, and VII—there are, in general, a few pupils who are still in the stage of fairly uniform rate of growth, many who are at the beginning of the prepubertal growth spurt, and a small number who have passed through the accelerating phase and are beginning to slow down in their rate of growth.²⁷

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Look up various definitions of maturity and compare these for both their similarity and their differences. How is development related to maturity?
2. Cite some uses that can well be made of the measurements of a group of students in junior high school. What measures would you obtain?
3. What are the different methods used in the study of physical development? Give the advantages of each.
4. If they are available, study some data on physical development secured from a group of students, and note the variations existing. How do these variations relate to their interests? To their personalities?
5. In your observations, have you detected in yourself a spurt in growth with the onset of adolescence? What other pronounced changes occurred rather rapidly?
6. What is the significance of the lack of uniformity in growth discussed on pages 33 to 35?
7. What are the different methods of measuring anatomical development? Which of these do you regard as the most accurate? Which most useful in general? Give reasons for your answers.

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²⁷ "Pupil Personnel, Guidance, and Counseling," *Review of Educational Research*. Washington, D. C.: American Educational Research Association, 1939, 9, p. 148.

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IV

Emotional Growth

Emotions and behavior. The changed concepts of the nature of the child and of the adolescent have brought with them changes in the methods and objectives of our schools and other educational and socializing agencies. There has been a shift from the consideration of the intellectual, moral, or social side of the child to that of the development of the total personality. An increased understanding of the development and importance of the emotions in the growing personality is of utmost importance to those concerned with the guidance of growing boys and girls. There is a tendency on the part of many people to regard the emotions as a stereotyped pattern of expression appearing with certain forms of stimulation. An adolescent's timidity is thus thought of as an expressive behavior pattern appearing on certain occasions. It has been suggested that in contrast with such a view, "the present tendency is to recognize that emotional components are in some form and to some degree present in all behavior."¹

Emotional development, although treated in this chapter as a separate topic from that of physical development, must not be considered without reference to physical development. The case of Jo, reported by Zachry in a study of adolescents, illustrates how impossible it is to isolate certain elements as "physical" and others as "emotional." This case, herewith presented, shows the necessity of considering all the factors that enter into the nature and type of activities of an individual at any particular stage of life.²

Jo is a boy of twelve who has been feeling very much out of the family picture. He is the youngest child. His sister is soon to be married and his

¹ H. E. Jones, H. S. Conrad, and Lois B. Murphy: "Emotional and Social Development and the Educative Process," *Thirty-eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, 1939, Chap. 18, p. 363. (Quoted by permission of the Society.)

² Caroline B. Zachry and Margaret Lighty: *Emotions and Conduct in Adolescence*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940, pp. 69-70.

brother has just started to work, but Jo is at an age when he is not particularly interesting to any member of the family. He has been doing only fairly well in his school work and he has definitely neglected his arithmetic.

One morning he went down to breakfast and ate rather heartily: he had oatmeal with cream, eggs, bacon, jam, and milk; and while he was eating he recalled that he was going to have an arithmetic test that morning. He had a queer, twitchy feeling of excitement in his stomach at the thought of the arithmetic test. He started walking slowly to school, thinking more about the test, and his stomach felt queerer and the oatmeal weighed very heavily on it. He had a vague feeling, which was hardly a thought, that if his breakfast were to come up he wouldn't have to go to school, and the arithmetic test came to mind again. Suddenly he found it hard to keep the breakfast down.

Shortly after his arrival at school, it did come up. He was sent home by the principal with a clear conscience to have a day in bed. The principal telephoned his mother, who immediately became concerned. She put Jo to bed in the guest room and made a fuss over him such as he had not experienced since he was quite a small boy. His sister came in and showed him her wedding presents; his brother stopped and had a talk with him before going out in the evening, an event which had not occurred for months; and his father spent the evening reading to him.

This upset stomach had a high value: no arithmetic test, and solicitude from all the people from whom he had been wishing attention for some time. The next time Jo was faced with a difficult situation and there was a queer feeling in his stomach, it was no longer necessary to go through all the preliminary steps. Now meals just come up without further consideration on his part.

Conditioned versus unconditioned responses. Behavior activities have been given many classifications. One widely used classification grew out of the studies of Pavlov in the beginning of the present century.³ While working on the physiology of digestion, using dogs as subjects, he introduced a minor operation, so that saliva could be conducted through a tube running from the dog's submaxillary gland through the cheek. He then noticed that the salivary response was promptly aroused—and by means of the apparatus devised could be measured—when food was smelled. Furthermore, he noted that the salivary response was aroused by various elements in the environment, such as the sight of the food dish or the approach of one who usually brought the food. Again, in order to study more carefully the process by means of which the animal had come to respond to these elements in his environment, he arranged the now classic experiment in which an elec-

³ R. M. Yerkes and S. Morgulis: "The Method of Pawlow in Animal Psychology," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1909, 6, pp. 257-273.

tric bell was sounded a little before the presentation of food. After this procedure had been repeated a number of times, the dog would exhibit the salivary reflex following the sounding of the bell as a stimulus, even though the food was not immediately supplied.

This salivary reaction to the sound of the bell as a stimulus was called by Pavlov a "conditioned reflex." The fundamental principle of the conditioned reflex is: *If an incidental stimulus is presented many times along with one that already arouses a specific reflex response, the incidental stimulus will cause the particular reflex response to appear.*

Conditioned behavior is distinguished from unconditioned behavior in that the response once made only to a specific stimulus is later made to a part of that stimulus or to another stimulus that was concurrent with the original.

It should be pointed out that conditioned behavior is not confined to reflex behavior. A review of the work of Watson shows the application of the conditioned response concept to emotional behavior. Further studies relative to this problem are discussed in relation to the various emotional stimuli as motivating forces tending to liberate certain emotional drives of the organism. Our concern is not to present the controversial issues of conditioned behavior, but to show the nature and function of these early conditioned and unconditioned processes. Conditioning is recognized as having a wide range of applications. The fundamental principle, however, is set forth in the statement presented as an outgrowth of Pavlov's classic experiment.

Biological and socialized responses. The effects of heredity and environment are so mutually influential that, even soon after the fertilization of the ovum from which the embryo and finally the young infant develops, one can hardly distinguish the contributions of either. At the moment of the fertilization not only does physical development begin, but various behavior patterns start taking form which are destined to function importantly throughout the individual's life. Any attempt to place these two factors (heredity and environment) in opposition to each other is unwarranted in psychology and biology. Concerning these, Conklin and Freeman state:

Biologically, what an individual inherits is not a structure or a function but, rather, the potentialities for developing certain structures and functions *under certain conditions during the period of development.* Psychologically, the individual does not inherit specific behavior: but he does inherit certain behavioral and functional potentialities, the details and extent of whose development will be dependent in part upon the organism's environment

during its period of growth. It is for this reason that some biologists and psychologists subscribe to the doctrine that every structure, function, and behavior is *both* inherited and acquired.⁴

The outstanding characteristics of the infant years are marked by behavior activities directly resulting from biological drives. The control and direction of these drives are of tremendous importance, and are an outgrowth of training, experience, and maturity. The effect of socialization is to color and direct these primitive biological drives into socially acceptable and desirable channels. The period from ten to sixteen can be described as passing through the following categories: first, a period of continued socialization; secondly, a period of gang interest and loyalty; thirdly, the onset of puberty and an intensification of the sex drive; and, finally, the socialization of the sex drive. These are the stages present in the development and conditioning of biological drives, the broadening of the learning process, and the intensification of socialized responses.

Hunger and thirst. In the functioning of our bodies and in the continuation of the species, the essential processes are cared for by physiological structures and by various forms of automatic activity which occur even during the earliest period of life. Among these processes, which are classified as biological or physiological, and even as instinctive, are *hunger* and *thirst*. Other such processes present include man's emotional nature. As Cannon explains:

Since food and water are steadily being lost from the body the only way in which a constant supply can be maintained is by means of storage and gradual release. Food is stored in the well-known forms of fat and body starch or glycogen, and probably also as protein in small masses in the liver cells. Water is stored in tissue spaces and in tissue cells. As need arises, these stored reserves are set free for use. The reserves themselves, however, must be replenished. It is the function of hunger and thirst as automatic stimuli to make certain that the reserves of food and water are maintained.⁵

Now in adolescence the individual is reaching into a realm of delectable foods and strongly flavored drinks, and his appetites at this stage of life are for various foods and drinks that are pleasant in their immediate effect. This tendency is further accentuated by the socialized habits and customs prevalent in which eating and drinking be-

⁴ Edmund S. Conklin and Frank S. Freeman: *Introductory Psychology for Students of Education*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1939, p. 20.

⁵ W. B. Cannon: "Hunger and Thirst," *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.). Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1929, pp. 434-448.

come an important by-product. Often during this period the individual is likely to eat and drink in excess, owing to a lack of established habits of temperance; hence, habits of an appetitive nature are being established at this time of life that are likely to be detrimental later on. These appetites become drives and are urges to further pursuit of an activity which brings immediate pleasure, whatever its final effect. Yet the demands of the individual for food and drink are present from birth, and constitute a more or less reliable guide for the care and replenishment of special bodily needs. Moreover, these drives become socially conditioned in harmony with the widened social activities of growing boys and girls.

Appetitive impulses relating to hunger and thirst are so conditioned in the life of the civilized adolescent that we may fail to appreciate how they would appear even independently of food and drink. Their expression has been socialized—socialized so profoundly that our interest should center on them primarily in the light of their conditioning by modern social forces. In order to realize more fully the influences of society upon the individual, one should imagine the behavior of an adolescent who has not been exposed to social influence. Such an individual would be without language, without traditions, without morals—except of a very personal, narrow, and selfish type—and without those socially acquired habits which tend to regulate man's more primordial urges according to social welfare. And, as regards behavior resulting from food and hunger, he would be found to be roaming about, eating irregularly as to both time and substance. At least, we could be sure that he would contrast strongly with the civilized adolescent; and the apparent significance of social training would be in proportion to the contrast. Still further, the contrast would suggest to an extent how other impulses which are deep-seated in original human nature may find social expression in adolescence.

The nature of feelings. Taken together, feelings and emotions may be referred to as the affective experiences of the individual, as contrasted with his more purely unconscious physiological responses. But when we consider the *feeling state* of man let us not think of it as some qualitatively isolated form of activity. "The affective experiences may be wholly or partly visceral in origin. At moderate intensities they are vaguely felt and poorly localized, but in greater intensities they are less difficult to observe."⁶ Again, any statement concerning

⁶J. P. Nafe: "The Sense of Feeling," *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.). Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1929, p. 411.

feelings must be based largely upon introspection or subjective data; there is practically nothing of an experimental nature to offer as a proof for one theory or another. However, practically all definitions describe feelings in terms of man's affective life and thus consider at least the two dimensions of pleasure and displeasure. Furthermore, it may be argued from the subjective standpoint, and with some justification, that feelings are either emotional accompaniments or are themselves experiences less vivid than an emotion. They are not states of knowing and reflecting. They are well-nigh impossible of analysis. The two complementary states or conditions result from one's becoming aware of some disturbance, and have been termed *pleasantness* and *unpleasantness*. It is a very difficult task to describe the feeling states here considered, but probably everyone has at some time been subject to them.

Feelings are quite often defined in terms of pleasure and pain, and this definition confuses simple affective experiences with sensory processes or experiences. Actually, pleasure refers to man's affective life, while pain refers to sensations. It is probably true that under ordinary conditions pain sensations are accompanied by feeling states of unpleasantness, but this relationship does not imply either identity or a necessary accompaniment. Most of us have experienced pain that brought relief from an unpleasant stimulation; and in such an instance the pain has been thought of as pleasant. If behavior is to be classified under various captions, therefore, we must be consistent: pain and unpleasantness are not synonymous terms and thus cannot be used interchangeably. Of course, there are many other patterns of behavior of an affective nature that result from rather localized physiological conditions.

The feeling element during adolescence. Pleasantness and unpleasantness are not to be confused with certain sensations such as pain, a pin-prick, a sweet or salty taste, and so forth, although one can well recognize in retrospection that certain feeling states accompany these. The feeling states are each correlated with a fundamental attitude existing in the organism independently of the particular stimulation, and they must be recognized and dealt with accordingly. In interpreting this fact, Henry T. Finck says: "Men will and must have their pleasures. Social reformers and temperance agitators could not make a greater mistake than by following the example of the Puritans and tabuing all pleasures."

The pleasantness that enters into the life of adolescents usually in-

volves some social element. Rivalry, success in some performance, eating in a group, and team display are all characteristic of the social factor developing in the maturing individuals and thus giving vent to the feeling element of life. It is by means of such activities that adolescents come to develop many virile character qualities. The general view that the feeling states reach their height during this period is at least in part true. And to deny an expression of these feeling states is only to suppress the normal development of the personality.

The development of the emotions. According to Bridges⁷ the emotional reactions of the infant are not highly differentiated, but the most common response to emotional stimuli is that of general bodily agitation or excitement. Out of this general excitation develop during the first several months the differential responses of distress and delight. Here we note the negative and positive forms of emotional responses that have commonly been recognized and given varied classifications. Anger, disgust, fear, and jealousy emerge at an early age from distress; elation, affection for others, and joy grow out of delight. The different ages for the appearance of different forms of behavior during emotional episodes show that crying, screaming, restlessness, and struggling, as forms of behavior, appear during the first four months of life, and may be regarded as general bodily agitation appearing in the initial stages as a result of some sort of overstimulation. Following the period of infancy the child passes through a period of growth, coordinating and integrating each new stage with that which has gone on before. The emotional development is not so great, due to the slow rate of growth of the internal organs of the body that are controlled by the autonomic nervous system, and are thus closely identified with the emotional life.

Most of our fears or angers are acquired ways of responding to various stimuli and situations. Few of the stimuli which cause fear or anger among adults will frighten an infant. It is equally true that most of our other emotional patterns are the results of learning and maturation—particularly learning. Since emotions are learned, they may be unlearned, thus enabling one to avoid the handicaps of inefficiency, embarrassment, and annoyance which uncontrolled emotions produce. However, the term *emotion* should not be regarded as a name for a

⁷ K. M. B. Bridges: "Emotional Development in Early Infancy," *Child Development*, 1932, 3, pp. 324-341; also see W. E. Blatz and Dorothy A. Millichamp: "The Development of Emotion in the Infant," *University of Toronto Studies in Child Development Series*, 1935, No. 4.

type of response that is entirely different from nonemotional behavior. Behavior is a continuous, complex process involving simultaneous activity in many parts of the body. Man does not respond now with an emotion, then with an instinct, and at some other time with a habit. These names do not designate distinctly different types of behavior; they are merely abstractions which are necessary for convenience of study. The behavior commonly called emotional is an *emotion* in pure form only within a textbook. The same is true of a conditioned reflex, or a *habit*. Some of the characteristics of emotional activity are present at all times in everyday life and comprise what is sometimes called one's *emotional tone*. These emotional elements intensify, inhibit, and otherwise modify the behavior in process at any given time and are integral parts of the whole pattern of behavior. The adolescent is likely to be in a hyperemotional state due to the organization and repression of drives and as a result of the controls and educational forces operating at this stage of life.

The nature of emotions. Most writers recognize in the emotional experience an intensity which is not present in a simple feeling state. As Piéron states: "An emotion is essentially an affective reaction of an intense character."⁸ As to just what definition shall be used for emotions, however, there is slight agreement. From a truly introspective standpoint, Ruckmick describes an emotion as "a complex mental process usually started by a percept or an idea and involving at once a thorough-going disturbance of both mind and body which gradually decreases in its complexity and strength."⁹

But Rexroad emphasizes the importance of changes in the viscera. He says:

These profound and temporary changes in the viscera, whether caused by the secretion of adrenalin or by impulses passing out over the autonomic system, are the emotions, or at least a large part of emotional responses. Whether we are to mean by an emotion only visceral disturbances as determined by definite excitants or to mean the visceral disturbance together with its effects on manual behavior, is an arbitrary matter. In this book we shall mean only visceral behavior when we speak of the emotions.¹⁰

⁸ Henri Piéron: *Principles of Experimental Psychology* (Tr. of *Psychologie expérimentale*, by J. B. Miner). New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929, p. 44.

⁹ C. A. Ruckmick: *The Mental Life*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928, p. 23.

¹⁰ C. N. Rexroad: *General Psychology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, p. 192. (Quoted by permission of the publishers.)

It would seem that somewhere between these two concepts is a working viewpoint which embodies the essential principle of each. If we study the definition presented by Ruckmick, which is somewhat characteristic of his particular school of thought, we find in it a "mind origin" idea. Now emotional experiences certainly possess some of the characteristics of complex mental processes: ideas are probably present in most if not all mental states; sensations also are present, and these surely embody mental processes. However, the description by Rexroad of bodily disturbances and emotional feelings somewhat analogous to these cannot be wholly denied. That the viscera play a prominent role in man's emotional life not only has been recognized from the days of antiquity, but is surely substantiated by the great amount of research on the problem.

The *autonomic nervous system* is the specialized portion of the nervous system that controls most of the visceral responses. It lies chiefly outside the central nervous system, but is adjacent to it and is connected with the spinal cord. The autonomic system has been divided into the cranial, sympathetic, and sacral divisions. Most internal organs are connected by nerve fibers with either the cranial or sacral divisions and with the sympathetic division.

One set of nerves augments, whereas the other inhibits, the activity of an organ. According to such an antagonistic structural arrangement the visceral organs are, then, both inhibited and driven through the functioning of the autonomic system; Figure 5 shows its structural arrangement. The cranial and sacral divisions function in the normal activity of the internal organs of the body, whereas the sympathetic division is responsible for the changed operation of the internal organs during an emotional state. Some bodily responses resulting from a stimulation from the sympathetic division may be listed as follows: retardation or bolting of the peristaltic movements of the stomach and the flow of gastric juices from the glands; an increased secretion of glycogen into the blood stream; an increased rate of breathing; increased pulse rate; expansion of the periphery of the body; and increased muscular tension. The stimulation of the adrenal glands is very important in this connection, since the presence of an increased amount of adrenalin in the blood stream characterizes much of the emergency emotional states.

The emotional changes just described are extremely important in relation to certain emotional situations. The organs involved are fundamental to the life of the individual, and their increased activity is

especially helpful in meeting difficult physical conditions. This fact forms the basis of Cannon's emergency theory of emotions. However, the physical changes described are not valuable in meeting many

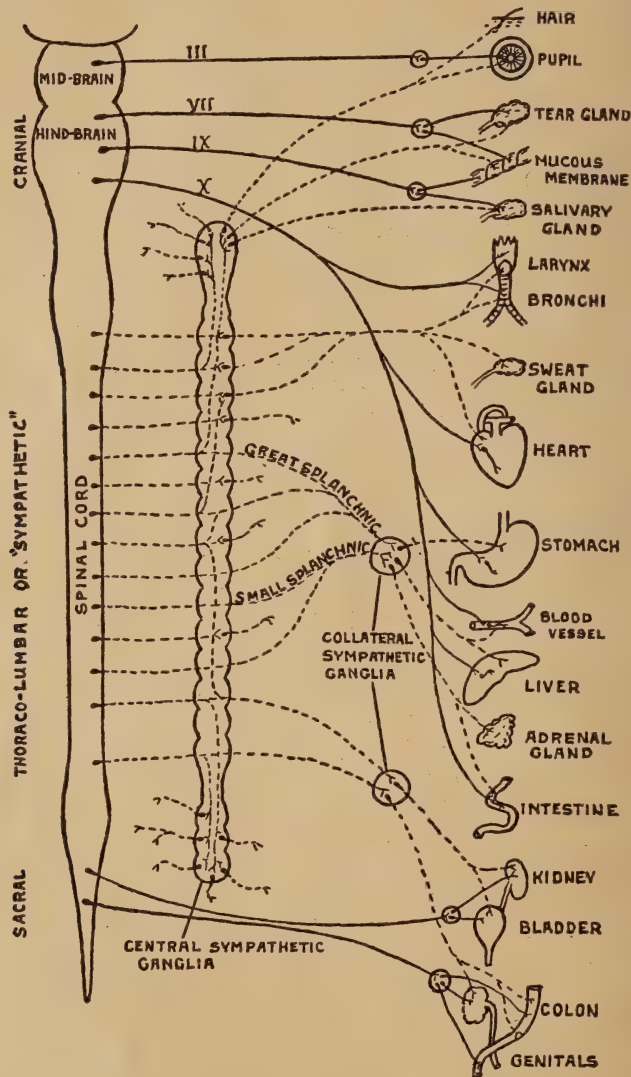


FIG. 5. Diagram showing the structural divisions of the autonomic nervous systems and their relation to the internal organs. (From F. H. Lund: *Psychology*. Ronald Press, 1933, p. 207.)

present day emotional situations. Increased blood sugar is not helpful to the timid adolescent boy asking for his first date, nor to the jealous adolescent girl trying to outwit her rival through a feminine appeal.

Description of three major emotions. A discussion of the nature and development of each possible emotion would be a very lengthy one, even supposing there were adequate data and materials available for such a treatment. Furthermore, there is no accepted list of emotions, inasmuch as various classifications have been made from time to time. Descartes refers to the "six passions," James to the "four emotions," and Watson to the "three original emotions"—fear, love, and anger. Some psychologists refer to a single "stirred-up state" that gradually becomes differentiated in response to varied stimuli. A rather common classification is twofold, and is based upon the division of the autonomic nervous system in such a way that the visceral tissues are supplied with a double set of nerves, as was described on page 51. A great deal of research has centered around the development and nature of the three emotions presented by Watson. These emotions are sufficiently differentiated and have been subjected to sufficient study to provide materials for special consideration here.

(a) *Love.* The emotion of love is directly related to the sexual impulse, and, like the emotions of fear and rage, is the consequence of physiological disturbances, especially in the visceral and glandular parts of the body. The ordinary response is a relaxed state of the body, and in the infant child especially is accompanied by gurgling and cooing. But as Gilliland has stated: "The earliest loves are not sexual in character, Freud to the contrary notwithstanding. However, sex stimulation gives pleasure and becomes a large factor in love responses."¹¹ The pattern, however, like that of fear, joy, and grief, seems to be in-born, non-co-ordinated, and unconditioned. It is somewhat similar in many different species, and is present at birth and through maturation. "It is of course not until the development of sexual maturity or adolescence that the full effect and extent of sex influences become evident."¹² Because of social customs and group sanction, love responses are indirect and often rather subtle in nature, and this results in repressions and various forms of substitutions.

Since the various structures concerned with sex, and thus with love behavior, further develop and finally mature during adolescence, it is to be expected that there should be an excess of physiological manifestations of this emotion at this time. One must not infer either that love behavior appears suddenly in adolescence or that it is confined wholly

¹¹ A. R. Gilliland: *Genetic Psychology*. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1933, p. 293.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 293.

to sex as sex is ordinarily thought of; for in the study of infants it has been found that the stimulation of the genital organs may cause smiling, which results from sexual experience but not from a sexual experience similar to that of the adolescent or adult. However, the fact that the emotions are so closely connected with visceral and glandular activities makes it apparent that, with the maturation of the sex and related glands, there will be a stronger tendency toward the love attachments and emotional manifestations associated with them. In this tendency probably the powerful social drives of adolescents, and their extreme loyalty and ideals, play an important part. This subject we shall consider further in connection with the various socializing influences to which growing boys and girls are constantly exposed.

(b) *Anger*. Anger (often referred to as "rage"), the manifestations of which are familiar to most of us, has been classed as one of man's primary emotions. Probably it served a distinct value during man's primitive existence; for when an individual is angered, certain autonomic processes in his body prepare him for more violent exertion—for strenuous actions which may enable him to surmount physically an unpleasant situation, or even to escape death. Such processes result from the stimulation of the visceral and glandular parts of the body, which in turn is a result of the innervation of the sympathetic division of the autonomic nervous system. Today there are very few occasions in the life of the individual in which anger manifestations will tend to serve as an aid to man, but situations that provoke anger have by no means been eliminated with the development of a higher civilization. This emotion, therefore, still exists in the behavior of the people.

Both anger and fear are somewhat opposed to love. Anger is characterized by stimulation of an inhibitory or negative type in which the subject's activities are interfered with. The physiological changes have already been mentioned as having certain protective values in that they tended to aid man in ridding himself of the inhibitory, obnoxious, or dangerous situation. It is well known that with the development of rational habits, conduct takes a higher form, being guided by reason and insight to a greater degree; but when an inhibitory situation is suddenly confronted, the individual's rational powers will often not operate to the maximum extent, and it is quite probable that his conduct will be prompted by emotion rather than reason.

The ready giving way to anger becomes a matter of habit in the life of the individual, but various social, recreational, and intellectual pursuits will cause the subject to develop habits of forethought and to inhibit certain emotional tendencies that developed prior to the age of

adolescence. Thus, these pursuits will aid the individual in his social participation. However, in the development of emotional habits of a desirable nature, too much emphasis has been placed upon the inhibition of emotions after they have arisen rather than upon the avoidance of the arousal of the emotions. The best kind of self-control is the latter. The establishment of such habits is, of course, a slow process, and should begin during the days of early social experiences prior to the establishment of contrary habits.

The moral value of "righteous indignation," such as socialized anger, must not be overlooked. For here the anger tendency is on a rational basis—if, say, it results from a desire for the betterment of the group. But even these forms of anger should not be encouraged too far, since harmful behavior is likely to ensue. In his discussion of the emotion of anger in relation to moral and religious experience, Stratton¹³ points out that the anger tendency may operate throughout an individual's life, and may develop certain forms of prejudice and lead to attempts to convert others to the "call." Anger, if developed as a protest against evil practices, is likely to carry the individual to an extreme in his attempt to right such practices. A rational form of control, only at times supplemented by anger, is more desirable. The idealistic nature of the adolescent, especially, is likely to carry his anger too far. It is partially for this reason that there are always large numbers of boys in the "teens" ready at the first call to battle the enemy in time of war.

(c) *Fear*. Fear is one of the most pronounced emotions experienced by man, and it has ever played an important role in his conduct. A study of primitive races will reveal the great influence it has had on the development of standards of conduct, beliefs, and man's innumerable institutions. Our ancestors constantly resorted to various rites and practices which were founded upon the appearance in one form or another of this primary emotion of fear. This emotion is oftentimes even today misunderstood and misinterpreted by the masses. The work of the psychoanalysts has done much to give us a fuller insight into the influence of this emotion upon various phenomena of conduct as well as upon physical well-being.

Fear has come more and more into disrepute as a method of social control. Especially in the adolescent are its evil effects found to exist, as fears begin to appear in certain social situations in a more permanent and stable form. To control by fear is, in the main, a negative

¹³ G. M. Stratton: *Anger: Its Religious and Moral Significance*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923.

method. Positive means of control, which tend more to bring into account such factors as suggestion, imitation, and guidance in the building up of desirable modes of adjustment, are more desirable. Moreover, as a child reaches adolescence it can be observed that fear as a means of control loses its influence; in fact, the exaggerated fear tendency established in early life will leave an imprint upon the growing child, but it does not insure that his conduct in certain situations will ever be really desirable.

Emotional manifestations. In the earlier part of this chapter it was pointed out that the early emotional reactions of children tend to be relatively diffuse and without very clear form or pattern, for example, *anger* and *fear* are exceedingly difficult to distinguish in infancy. As the infant grows into childhood, the generalized excitement characteristic of much of the earlier behavior tends to be replaced by more and more distinct modes of expression. In the case of Goodenough's study of expressions of anger among children from 7 months to 7 years of age, it was observed that among younger children, anger was usually shown by a primitive-like tantrum or simple crying of a generalized nature. With older children, it took on a variety of special forms, and these were more personal in nature, revealing certain social characteristics.

In the last few years a number of studies using questionnaires and tests have been conducted in an effort to obtain information about the fears and other emotional attitudes of normal children, adolescents, and adults. One of these efforts has yielded information of interest in tracing the development of typical fears. The following is a list of the fears, out of a possible 90, marked by 75 per cent or more of sixth-grade children; these items are arranged in descending order of frequency:

murder	robbers	jail	knives	choking
holdups	accidents	burglars	dying	operation
poison	suffering	wrecks	injury	guns
fire	thieves	enemies	sickness	floods
death	danger	crimes	fight	suffocating

The items marked least frequently (25 per cent or less) by the sixth-graders were:

ability	secrets
appearance	trembling
family	clothes
cats	work

By the tenth grade, the most frequent causes for fear or worry had changed somewhat away from those of personal injury and danger to social and emotional conditions and situations. This is well indicated in the list here presented, which contains items marked by 30 per cent or more of the adolescents. No item was marked by more than 52 per cent and only four by more than 50 per cent of the group.

The list is as follows:

fire	helplessness	operation	cheating
examinations	collision	germs	appearance
murder	tuberculosis	crimes	lightning
accidents	money	injury	burglars
poison	sins	suffocating	work
holdups	disease		

The list just set forth is a peculiar combination of the outstanding fears of children and those characteristic of late adolescence. The latter fears may be thought of as those characteristic of the youth period. Seniors in college marked very few items; only nine were marked by 25 per cent or more and only four by 50 per cent or more. The nine items so marked are as follows:

money	cash	self-consciousness
ability	examinations	work
appearance	clothes	family

Of the twenty-five outstanding fears of childhood, one—*accidents*—persists, with over 20 per cent of college seniors marking it; approximately 10 per cent marked *suffering*. All the other items marked by the sixth-graders had almost entirely disappeared, being marked by 5 per cent or less of the seniors. Conversely, five of the nine items marked least by children appear in the list of those marked most frequently by the college seniors.¹⁴

Habits as drives to action. The importance of this topic in the study of the adolescent cannot be overemphasized. Habits of a social nature are in their formative stage during later adolescence. In considering the individual's emotionality as a drive to activity, one must not oversimplify the general development of emotional habits and their relation to mental life. Emotional habits should, furthermore, be viewed from the developmental point of view. During the adolescent period they are still in an unstable state, and are found to be very transitory

¹⁴ S. L. Pressey and Luella Cole Pressey: "Development of the Interest-Attitude Tests," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1933, 17, pp. 1-16. (See also Luella Cole: *Psychology of Adolescence*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936, pp. 63-64. Some of these materials have been modified from this source.)

in their general manifestations. Many mannerisms appear, being manifested in isolation from the individual's general habit patterns—which, in fact, are often inconsistent and changeable. The extent to which a habit pattern once built up becomes a drive to action will depend mainly on the extent to which it becomes integrated in the individual's general habit patterns and finally becomes automatic.

It has been found that attentive repetition of an act tends to make for automaticity of the act. Habits are continuous rather than periodic. A habit once formed is never completely eradicated from man's neural structure, for all changes which are effected must be built upon the structural patterns existing at the time in the individual. James recognized this in his well-known classical statement:

Every smallest stroke of virtue or of vice leaves its never so little scar. The drunken Rip Van Winkle, in Jefferson's play, excuses himself for every fresh dereliction by saying, "I won't count this time!" Well! he may not count it, and a kind Heaven may not count it; but it is being counted none the less. Down among his nerve-cells and fibres the molecules are counting it, registering and storing it up to be used against him when the next temptation comes. Nothing we ever do is, in strict scientific literalness, wiped out. Of course this has its good side as well as its bad one. As we become permanent drunkards by so many separate drinks, so we become saints in the moral, and authorities and experts in the practical and scientific spheres, by so many separate acts and hours of work.¹⁵

Such changes as are made may become automatic in nature, but the old habit system operates under special emotional conditions when rational behavior is not so much in evidence. Even volition must be studied in terms of learning and can best be thought of in terms of man's habit system. All these habit patterns which tend to contribute to the efficiency of the human mechanism become potent drives for the initiation and direction of action. (This subject we shall consider further in connection with the development of attitudes and social behavior.)

Emotional control. If emotional activity results in prepotent action tendencies, it is certainly necessary that a control be exercised over both the emotions and their expressions. But here it should be noted that there is a definite difference between emotional control and emotional repression or elimination; for whenever a man reaches a point such that he experiences no emotions, he is no longer referred to as an ordinary man but rather as a case or subject for psychological or

¹⁵ William James: *Psychology* (Briefer Course). New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1892, p. 150.

psychiatric treatment. Life would be a deadly monotony but for some emotional experiences—if, in fact, it continued at all, which would be highly doubtful in the event that all emotions, including those of sex, were eliminated from existence. Without emotions all family ties would vanish—love for wife, love for husband, love for children, love for parents: all would cease. Religion would disappear, for there would be no fear of God, no awe of God, no love of God. Governments would crumble without patriotism, feelings of security, and protection. To be sure, if emotions give us the bitters of life, they give us the sweets, also. The words of Tennyson imply the same thought: "The happiness of a man in this life does not consist in the absence but in the mastery of his passions."

Now we have noted that the emotions are closely related to bodily changes and are thus fatiguing, and unless there is ample opportunity afforded for recovery following periods of emotional upsets, individual injury is the unavoidable result. Furthermore, every individual develops emotional habits to such an extent that an emotional response to a situation today will be repeated if he meets the same or some similar situation tomorrow. A well-unified habit system with the proper volitional, attentive, persistent, and imitative types of habits developed in harmony with the individual's innate physical and mental ability is impossible unless the boys and girls are given the opportunity to accept responsibility and are held accountable for consequences. This means self-control. The stage of maturity has been reached in which they can see, understand, and generalize from their home and school experiences; and in order that emotional control may be developed, they should be given the opportunity to participate in activities leading toward the acceptance of responsibility. This participation will foster a spirit of fair play and co-operation, habits of confidence, and a larger consideration of the rights of others. These are essential prerequisites for emotional control.

Summary. The growth and development of the child into adolescence are accompanied by glandular changes closely related to the emotional life. The heightened emotional states during this period of life have constantly been recognized as a part of the nature of adolescents; however, in addition to a heightened emotional state at this time, there is also an expansion of the emotions into the social realm. Fears and angers related to social situations become very important; self-conscious feelings about one's own adequacy appear; and the adolescent becomes especially concerned over the approval of his peers.

The child is conditioned to many emotional stimuli which often

interfere with a healthy development of the mental and emotional life. This conditioning process may have a very early beginning and thus guide the development of further emotional and social habits. The child's early habits have been described as mainly self-centered; later, through social contacts, he gradually arrives at a fuller realization of his true relation to others. Now if these early habits have not developed so that the individual may grow into independence and responsibility, we have a dependent creature maturing into the social group. He lacks character traits essential to a happy and successful adjustment to the new and sometimes strange situations he is constantly meeting. If his intellectual habits have not prepared him for the changes that accompany adolescence, abnormal emotional trends are likely to develop in his attempt to adjust himself to the new impulses present at this stage of life.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Distinguish by definition between pleasantness and unpleasantness. What difficulties are encountered in making such a distinction?
2. What conditions are necessary for the development of desirable emotional habits during childhood?
3. How would you account for the change in emotional manifestations presented in this chapter?
4. Look up the James-Lange theory of emotions. What evidences have you observed which would support this theory?
5. Of what value are the emotions? Elaborate.
6. List some principles of emotional control.

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V

Mental Development

The term *mentality* is used in this chapter somewhat synonymously with *intelligence*. Often terms used in discussions of mental development are vague, since they are not technical to begin with. Psychologists have been attempting during the last several decades, and especially during the one just past, to give a more definite and exact meaning to these words. However, it is recognized that some of the words have been in more or less common usage for a long period and that, having come under careful scientific usage and scrutiny fairly recently, they may still be occasionally misleading.

The discussion in this chapter will be confined mainly to the adolescent stage of life, although it is widely understood that any interpretation of the mental characteristics of this period is directly related to and dependent upon the mental characteristics of childhood. Moreover, since many problems relating to mental development are strongly controversial, the materials presented here are given in the spirit of what scientific studies tend to point out. Some of the major problems to be studied are the meaning of intelligence, or mental ability; the physiological basis of mental ability; the problems encountered in the attempt to measure mental ability; and the general nature of mental growth. The latter will include further subsidiary problems relative to the uniformity and constancy of mental growth, the maturity age of subjects of varying abilities as well as those reaching physiological maturity at different periods, and the relation between the rate of mental and physical growth.

What is meant by the terms "mental ability" and "intelligence"? Many writers have suggested definitions of intelligence, but these definitions have not always been in close agreement, since psychologists view intelligence from different angles and since the concepts of each reflect the particular emphasis of his trend of thought. In general, however, notions of the individual and his mental ability are closely related to learning and problem solving ability.

The most important controversies concerning the more exact nature of intelligence have centered around the theories of Thorndike and Spearman. Spearman considers it a general ability, the "education of relations and correlates." Thorndike's view has been referred to as a "multiple-factor" theory and that of Spearman as the "two-factor" theory. However, our interest in the nature of intelligence is not concerned with the finer distinctions set forth in the various definitions presented by psychologists, educators, and others.¹ These often tend to emphasize slightly different aspects or characteristics of the mental processes. The discussions here will center on a general understanding of those characteristics belonging to or closely related to man's intelligence. Few, if any, other topics of discussion in psychology have received more attention or have been given more varied definitions.

Physical basis of mentality. Intelligence is not to be conceived of as something apart from the structure and function of the various parts of the body. Peterson's view of it as a "biological mechanism by which the effects of a complexity of stimuli are brought together and given a somewhat unified effect in behavior," emphasizes several important features of intelligence. In the first place, intelligence is a biological mechanism; that is, we must think of it as the ability of an individual to function. This ability implies a finely made and co-ordinated structure together with the co-ordination elements, the nervous system. The statement further stresses the unity of the individual in response, a unity which is maintained by the co-ordinating structures. The physical basis of mentality is, then, not to be regarded as neurones, or muscles, or glands. Our measures of physical development are far from perfect. It is possible to measure some of the grosser features very accurately, but these probably have little relation to the development of finer structures and their relationships, on which mentality so largely depends.

In Chapter III it was pointed out that the nervous system, which includes the brain, is relatively advanced in general growth (except in portions of its inner cellular structure) at birth, and that its growth is rather rapid during the early years of life. Hence, one expects responses independent of the skeletal structure during these early years; mental ability does appear to develop quickly over this period. This is especially true of sensory processes. Thus the very young child is

¹ For a more complete explanation of these theories see Rudolph Pintner: "The Individual in School: I. General Ability," *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.). Worcester, Mass.: 1929, pp. 686-688.

often spoken of as a sensory creature who is concerned largely with sensory phenomena. Yet any conclusion which we may wish to draw from this fact is qualified by our ignorance of how much the child's lack of experience—and therefore of ideas developed only through experience—handicaps him in mental processes which are not predominantly sensory. The incompleteness of these processes cannot be wholly ascribed to an incompleteness of the structures which sustain them; the child's lack of language experience is but one of the other factors which may enter.

The measurement of mental development. The problems pertaining to the measurement of mental ability are too many and too complex to be given fully here. Yet we must take note of the necessity for distinguishing between *mental ability* or intelligence, on the one hand, and *mental content* or knowledge on the other. Mentality as a native endowment is the inherited ability to learn to adjust oneself to the environment; and the degree of mentality that one possesses is measured by the complexity of the environment to which he, as compared with other individuals of like age and somewhat similar experience, is capable of adjusting himself. The relation of intelligence to adjustment is treated more fully in the chapters on the mental disturbances of adolescents and juvenile delinquency.

As individuals go through life reacting to situations, many and diverse habits are established. Those relating to memory constitute one's mental content, and this content is therefore dependent upon the environment in which one lives. Still, it is impossible to conceive of mental content as wholly unrelated to one's hereditary equipment, because one's ability to profit from some specific environment depends in no small measure upon the inherited neural mechanism. Since tests composed with respect to variations in mental levels are used in measuring mental growth and the period of maturity, their results vary considerably. Interpretations of results, certainly, must not confuse growth in mental ability with growth in mental content, for the latter—the acquisition of information—continues more or less throughout life, while the former ceases comparatively early.

Freeman and Flory² reported results from the Chicago growth study, in which tests were administered to several hundred children over a period of years. Many individuals were retested at the age of 17 or 18

² F. N. Freeman and C. D. Flory: "Growth in Intellectual Ability as Measured by Repeated Tests," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1937, 2, p. 116.

years at the time of their graduation from the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools. Some of these were later retested in college. A composite of four standardized tests consisting of (a) vocabulary, (b) analogies, (c) completion, and (d) opposites was used. The growth curves drawn from the raw scores showed mental development continuing well beyond the age of 17 or 18 years. There was furthermore

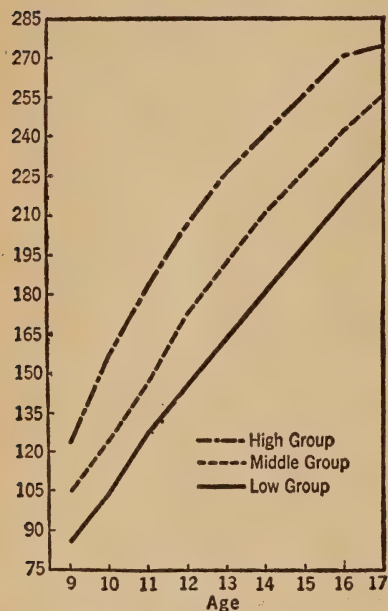


FIG. 6. Mean intelligence test scores of three groups of pupils with consecutive VACO tests from 11 to 16 years.

some evidence from these studies that the children of average ability might continue intellectual growth to a somewhat later age than the brighter pupil. This, however, is in all likelihood a result of the failure of the average environment to present as many opportunities for stimulation in such a way so as to continue an accelerated rate of growth on the mental tests, and is in harmony with the Minnesota studies of the mental growth of children from 2 to 14 years of age.³ According to these studies, the non-verbal tests surpass the verbal in predicting scores that will be made at a later year. There is also evidence from these studies that the stability of the Intelligence Quotient is reached earlier for girls than for boys.

Mental growth. All psychological studies show that there is an increase in mental ability with age, up to a certain period of life—approximately the period of adolescence. However, there are many problems relating to the nature, amount, and causes of such an increase which inspire differences of opinion. Some of these problems will be brought out in the course of the following discussions.

An interesting phase of this general problem of mental growth concerns the variation in individual-growth curves. According to early studies there appears to be a great deal of uniformity and a general

³ F. L. Goodenough and K. M. Maurer: "The Mental Growth of Children from Two to Fourteen Years: A Study of the Predictive Value of the Minnesota Preschool Scales," *University of Minnesota Child Welfare Monograph Series*, 1942, No. 19.

continuity of growth, as is further shown by the correlation method.⁴ Recent studies offer evidence that mental growth is affected by a number of factors. Terman retested gifted children after a six-year interval, and concludes from this as follows:

Making due allowances for complicating factors in measuring IQ constancy, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that there are individual children in our gifted group who have shown very marked changes in IQ. Some of these changes have been in the direction of IQ increase, others of them in the direction of decrease. The important fact which seems to have been definitely established is that there sometimes occur genuine changes in the rate of intellectual growth which cannot be accounted for on the basis of general health, educational opportunity, or other environmental influences.⁵

Differences obtained between adolescents and postadolescents on mental tests cannot be attributed wholly to differences in ability. The evidence of differences in intellectual development has led to a further consideration of the stimulus value of the environment and the drives operating at the particular time. Brooks has pointed out in this connection:

The interest, motives, and experiences of young people from fifteen to twenty-two are important factors which affect their intellectual development. They must also be taken into account when we try to appraise such development.⁶

Constancy of mental growth. There has been much controversy over the general nature of mental growth curves. This has centered around the constancy of the ratio of mental age to the chronological age. This ratio is a measure of the rate of mental growth and is referred to as the Intelligence Quotient (IQ). The IQ is determined by dividing the individual's mental age by his chronological age. The mental age thus becomes the unit for measuring mental development, and mental growth curves are usually plotted in terms of the mental age.

Mental growth curves are influenced not only by the type of intelligence test used but by the units in terms of which the curves are plotted

⁴ See Baldwin and Stecher: "Additional Data from Consecutive Stanford-Binet Tests," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1922, 13, pp. 556-560; S. C. Garrison: "Additional Retests by Means of the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Tests," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1922, 13, pp. 307-312.

⁵ L. M. Terman: *Genetic Studies of Genius*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1930, 3, p. 30.

⁶ Fowler D. Brooks: "Intellectual Development from Fifteen to Twenty," *Growth and Development: The Basis for Educational Programs*. New York: Progressive Education Association, 1936, p. 111.

as well. If growth in mental age is plotted against chronological age, a straight line will be the result, provided that (1) the test scores are derived from an unselected group of persons, (2) the test results are not influenced by training more at certain ages than at others, and (3) the degree of brightness of the persons tested on the average remains constant. It must be recognized that months and years represent units of time, and not necessarily units of growth, for in a given individual the rate of growth will be different at different periods in his life. Certain aspects of some of these problems are considered in the discussions that follow dealing with physical development and pubescence in relation to mental growth.

Studies of adopted children indicate that the size of the IQ may be affected by the type of environment represented in the foster home. After reviewing a number of investigations dealing with this problem, Freeman concludes:

In terms of the amount of change in IQ practically all investigations agree in finding that about fifty per cent of the cases will vary by five points or less in either direction from the original quotient. They show, further, that the chances that the IQ will vary by ten points are about one in five; that it will vary by fifteen points, the chances are about one in twenty. Furthermore—although there is not complete agreement on all the points—it seems that no special influence on changes is exerted by the chronological ages of the subjects or by sex membership.⁷

Skodak⁸ has sought to extend the facts relating to the growth of intelligence by selecting two groups of preschool children from the lower socio-economic levels. The first group was placed in superior foster homes in early infancy; the children of the second group remained, for different periods of time, in their own homes or in environments known to be inferior, and were then placed in homes superior to those they had previously known. The children were given intelligence tests at different periods and these results were studied in relation to the environmental background. During the first year, no noticeable differences were observed, indicating that the causal relation between intelligence and environmental background at this period is negligible. Following the first year there was a continued increase in the average IQ's for those children in the superior environments with a continued decrease for those in the inferior environments. It is pointed

⁷ F. S. Freeman: *Individual Differences*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 1934, pp. 245-246.

⁸ Marie Skodak: "Children in Foster Homes," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1939, 16, Series No. 364.

out from this study that the mental level of the children is more closely related to environmental background than to that of the true mothers. The conclusions presented by Skodak emphasize the importance of a stimulating environment in raising the IQ level of children during the growing years.⁹

Certain broad generalizations emerge from a careful analysis of the results of these studies. The first is that intelligence is much more responsive to environmental changes than had previously been conceived. For practical purposes of education, it is the environmental stimulation or, in many cases, the lack of early environmental stimulation, that sets the limits to which a child's mentality develops.

The hereditary constitution probably sets rather broad limitations, and when all the children have been placed in an environment sufficiently stimulating to develop them nearer to their hereditary limitations, its effects become very pronounced. As long as we are dealing with children who have not had an environment sufficiently stimulating to develop their abilities and talents, we shall find that responses to ordinary intelligence test items improve as a result of better environmental conditions.¹⁰

Pubescence and mental growth. Some evidence has been advanced indicating that pubescence is preceded or accompanied by a fairly rapid rise of both the mental and the physical growth curves. Abernethy's study¹¹ indicates that high school girls who have matured between 10½ and 11½ years were superior in their schoolwork to girls who matured four or five years later. The median IQ's of the two groups studied were approximately the same, 114 for those maturing early and 112 for those maturing late.

⁹ These University of Iowa studies have created considerable controversy. Simpson has presented some interesting notions dealing with factors that may have affected the results ("The Wandering IQ: Is it Time for It to Settle Down?" *Jour. Psychol.*, 1939, 7, pp. 351-369). McNemar has critically evaluated the studies and points out certain methodological and statistical inadequacies; while Wellman, Skeels, and Skodak have defended their results against such criticisms (see the *Psychological Bulletin* for March, 1940, for the critical examination of the studies and the critical review of the examination).

¹⁰ Hollingworth has pointed out that practically all long-time studies of predictability of intelligence support the conclusion that the results of tests administered during the first 6 or 8 years of life do not have a very great predictive value. (L. S. Hollingworth: "Personal Reactions of the Yearbook Committee," *Thirty-ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, 1940, pp. 451-454.)

¹¹ Ethel M. Abernethy: "Correlations in Physical and Mental Growth," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1925, 16, pp. 438-466 and 539-546.

In a study by Stone and Barker,¹² 175 postmenarcheal and 175 premenarcheal girls paired for chronological age were compared with respect to Otis intelligence test scores, personality, and socio-economic status of their parents. The postmenarcheal girls made a mean score on the intelligence test which was 2.25 points higher than that made by the premenarcheal girls. This difference is not statistically reliable. The *Pressey Interest-Attitude Test* scores showed the postmenarcheal girls to be more mature than the premenarcheal of the same chronological age. Postmenarcheal girls were also more mature when measured by the results obtained from administering the Sullivan Test for developmental age. Both of these differences are statistically reliable. The two groups were from families of about the same socio-economic status, and did not show a difference in their general personality traits as measured by the *Bernreuter Personality Inventory*. Apparently, then, pubescence has vastly more significance as a physiological change affecting various glandular secretions—especially those relating to sexual characteristics—and the rate of growth in height, weight, and other physical measurements, than it has as a criterion for mental growth. Physical and emotional changes are much more closely related to the onset of puberty than are the more specific mental abilities.

Gesell concludes:

The nervous system, among all the organs of the body, manifests a high degree of autonomy, in spite of its great impressionability. . . . *It tends to grow in obedience to the inborn determiners, whether saddled with handicap or favored with opportunity.* For some such biological reason, the general course of mental maturation is only slightly perturbed by the precocious onset of pubescence.¹³

Most of the discussions of intelligence deal with abilities to manipulate abstract symbols and deal with ideas. It is recognized that the ability to deal with words, ideas, and various symbolic elements and processes relate to mental abilities of a more or less academic type. The usual test of intelligence is, therefore, a measure of an abstract ability and deals with the question of how well an individual is able to do in

¹² C. P. Stone and R. S. Barker: "Aspects of Personality and Intelligence in Postmenarcheal and Premenarcheal Girls of the Same Chronological Age," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 1937, 23, pp. 439-445.

¹³ Arnold Gesell: "Precocious Puberty and Mental Maturation," in "Nature and Nurture: Their Influence upon Intelligence," *Twenty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1928, Part 1, pp. 408-409. (By permission of the Society.)

performances involving symbols and different types of abstractions. The more extended mental development found in many studies among children of superior intelligence is probably a result of the nature of the instruments used for measuring intelligence. Children who are alert and continue to make progress in the intellectual activities of the school quite likely do develop superior intellectual habits. They are, therefore, at a decided advantage in performances of an abstract intellectual nature over the child who is handicapped by deficient environmental stimulation.

Relationship between mental and physical development. From the results of studies on the interrelation of abilities, it has been found that individuals who are superior in one aspect of physical growth are more than likely to be superior in others, although, to be sure, the correlations between some traits are not very high, indicating that there are many exceptions to the association of physical growth in one direction with physical growth in some other direction. Some questions of especial interest in the study of exceptional pupils are: What is the relation between mental and physical development? And, more specifically, is the child superior in physical development likely to be superior mentally? Also, is the child who is slow in general physical development more likely to be slow in mental development? Are some physical traits associated with mental growth, while others are not?

So far as the various features of physical and mental development are concerned, growth in one does not retard growth in another. This is contrary to general opinion, but is substantiated by scientific evidence.¹⁴ Positive, though sometimes small, correlations are usually found between measurements of physical and mental traits. The correlation between mental age and the carpal area of the bones has been studied by various investigators, and Baldwin, alone and with Stecher, has found correlations ranging from .58 to .87 between these traits of development.¹⁵ However, these correlations show little relationship

¹⁴ Bird T. Baldwin: "The Physical Growth of Children from Birth to Maturity," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1920, 1, No. 1; James C. DeVoss: "Specialization of the Abilities of Gifted Children," *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1925, 1, Chap. XII; E. A. Doll: "Anthropometry as an Aid to Mental Diagnosis," *The Training School*, Research Department, Vineland, N. J., 1916, No. 8; C. D. Mead: "The Relation of General Intelligence to Certain Mental and Physical Traits," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education*, 1916, No. 76.

¹⁵ Bird T. Baldwin: "The Relation Between Mental and Physical Growth," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1922, 13, pp. 193-203.

when the factor of age is statistically controlled. Wellman's¹⁶ summary of the various studies related to this problem indicated no close relation between mental development and such measures of physical development as width of chest, lung capacity, ossification ratio, weight, height, and grip.

Physical appearance and mental development. The belief that there is an intimate relationship between mental development and general appearance, although gradually disappearing, is still quite widespread. To review the history of this belief along with the investigations which it has inspired would carry us too far from our present general interest. (Donald G. Paterson¹⁷ gives a very good summary of studies dealing with various phases of the problem.) However, in passing we may note that Binet and Simon, in their search for some reliable method of measuring intelligence, devoted much effort to cephalometry and described their findings between 1900 and 1910 in *l'Année Psychologique*. Dr. C. Rose¹⁸ in Germany and Karl Pearson¹⁹ in England also conducted early scientific studies, observing large groups of boys and girls; and they came to the conclusion—which has been borne out by many and more recent investigations—that in the judgment of intelligence no importance is to be attached to head measurements.

Recent scientific studies have shown that, except for some special clinical varieties, there is little to differentiate the mentally deficient from the average in physique. According to the early medical conceptions, feeble-mindedness was a disease which was expected to reveal physical as well as mental symptoms. Careful observations show, however, that the percentage of feeble-minded persons who present a distinct morphological picture proved to be very small.²⁰ The remaining majority had to be given the unrevealing appellation of "simple amentia." The major clinical varieties of feeble-mindedness which have been differentiated include *microcephaly*, *hydrocephaly*, *cretinism*, and *mongolism*. These, however, are special clinical types. The *microcephalic*

¹⁶ Beth L. Wellman: "Physical Growth and Motor Development and Their Relation to Mental Development in Children," *A Handbook of Child Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.). Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1931, p. 265.

¹⁷ Donald G. Paterson: *Physique and Intellect*. New York: The Century Co., 1930.

¹⁸ C. Rose: "Beiträge zur Europäischen Rassenkunde," *Archive für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*, 1905, 2, pp. 689-798; 1906, 5, pp. 42-134.

¹⁹ Karl Pearson: "Relationship of Intelligence to Size and Shape of the Head and Other Mental and Physical Characters," *Biometrika*, 1906, 5, pp. 105-146.

²⁰ H. L. Hollingworth: *Abnormal Psychology: Its Concepts and Theories*. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1930, p. 159.

has an abnormally small, pointed skull, producing a characteristic "sugar-loaf" appearance. The *hydrocephalic* has a very large skull and an excessive amount of cerebro-spinal fluid intervening between the skull and the brain. The *cretin* is easily identified by his stunted physique, coarse thick skin, loss of hair, and other physical characteristics. This condition has been definitely linked with a thyroid deficiency and has been frequently relieved by repeated administration of thyroid extract in early childhood. *Mongolism* acquired its name from a certain facial resemblance to the Mongolian race. This similarity, it should be mentioned, is quite superficial and slight. The peculiar, narrow, slanting eyes characteristic of this type of ament are chiefly responsible for the alleged resemblance to the Mongolian race.²¹

Maturity in memory and interpretation. Some educators have referred to the age of childhood as the "golden age for memory." There are several reasons why such a misconception has developed. In the first place, a great deal of the child's earlier mental activities consists of mechanically remembering meaningless materials; in these, the child does compare favorably with adults. Again, children have not developed a wide range of logical associations; therefore, they are forced to rely largely upon mechanical memories, and in turn are not distracted by meaningful elements that a situation may suggest. Further, children often spend a great deal of time and go through a great deal of drill in memorizing certain materials. The developmental curve for memory ability is somewhat similar in nature to that for other phases of mental growth. Such a growth curve reveals that memory ability increases with age and experience. Maturation of those structures concerned with learning and mental life is important in affecting the ability to memorize.

Pyle²² gave the "Marble Statue Test" to 2,730 persons ranging in age from eight years to maturity. An analysis of these data shows a rather steady improvement in memory for items until the thirteenth year. Shaffer's²³ study of the growth in ability to interpret cartoons shows a fairly early development with a continuous increase until ma-

²¹ For a complete description of these types see Rudolph Pintner: "The Feeble-minded Child," in *Handbook of Child Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.). Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1933. A. F. Tredgold: *Mental Deficiency*. New York: William Wood and Co., 1922.

²² W. H. Pyle: *Nature and Development of Learning Capacity*. Baltimore: Warwick & York, Inc., 1925.

²³ L. F. Shaffer: "Children's Interpretations of Cartoons," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education*, 1930, No. 429.

turity. There is evidence that mental development continues through the late teens, although this will vary with individuals and with the complexity of the function. In interpretative activities of a fairly complex nature, maturity comes considerably later than for less complex materials. Immature perception characterizes infancy and early childhood. The child notes things in large units and careful classifications are wholly lacking. The horse may be called a big dog. The courthouse is a big house, and the house is best represented in drawing as a square with perhaps a chimney on top. Studies in genetics show the gradual growth of discriminating ability resulting from maturation and experience. Guided experiences in harmony with the maturity level are highly important for the growth of perceptions.

School achievement in relation to intelligence. Many studies have been made in regard to the overlapping achievement and aptitude between dull and gifted children. One of the most interesting of these studies is reported by Pyle and Snadden.²⁴ It indicates the overlapping found between the brightest and dullest students in a Detroit senior high school on three of a series of nine ideational tests. Overlapping was also indicated by the graphs of the results of three or four motor learning tests administered. These experiments conducted by Pyle and Snadden used only thirty-one bright students and twelve dull ones, but similar results have been found by investigators performing comparable experiments with a greater number of children. These results are in harmony with the thoughts presented in Chapter II relative to variations within an individual. Such variations should be considered by the teachers and others concerned with the guidance of pupils so as to develop those potentialities present.

A study of the records of a group of gifted children was reported by Lamson.²⁵ Their early school records were analyzed in relation to their final high school achievements. The gifted children were approximately two years younger than the control group of children, both upon entering high school and upon graduation. In both the Regents examination and the school record the former were significantly superior.

Success in any of the school tasks is dependent in a large measure upon mental maturity (enabling the pupil to respond intelligently to

²⁴ W. H. Pyle and G. H. Snadden: "An Experimental Study of Bright and Dull High School Pupils," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1929, 20, pp. 262-269.

²⁵ E. E. Lamson: "High School Achievement of Fifty-six Gifted Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1935, 47, pp. 233-238.

ideas and problems), a background sufficiently rich in experiences, habits of concentration and attention, habits of persistence and self-reliance, and the tools for thinking and understanding sufficiently developed to interpret and use the ideas presented through the written symbols. The many studies that have been made on this problem reveal correlations²⁶ ranging from .20 to above .75 between grades obtained and intelligence test scores. The sizes of such correlations will depend upon a number of variables, among which may be stated motivation, nature

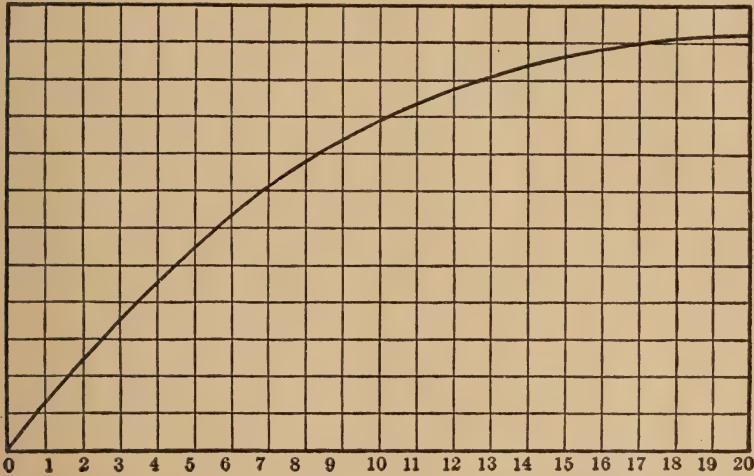


Fig. 7. The general nature of the relation of mental development to age in years 0 to 20.

of subject matter, study periods, teaching procedures, and criteria for grades.

Curves for growth in mechanical ability and information reveal that boys are superior to girls from the beginning of their school work to maturity. This difference can probably be accounted for on the basis of cultural influences. There is a significant relationship between intelligence and general knowledge, although sex differences will also be found. Girls are, in general, superior to boys in various linguistic activities, while boys are superior in general out-of-school knowledge.

Summary. This survey of some of the more important findings concerning mental growth demonstrates that many prevalent notions of

²⁶ The correlation ratio is a statistical term used to denote the degree of relationship existing between certain variables. For example, if we find that those who are advanced in mental ability are likewise advanced in vocabulary development, and vice versa, we would note a high correlation. There is a statistical procedure useful for ascertaining more accurately the extent of such a relation. A correlation of 0 is considered no relationship while one of 1.00 is considered a perfect one.

the nature of mental growth and its special characteristics at different stages are very much exaggerated. Since pubescence occurs in different individuals at different times, predictions and generalizations in individual cases are likely to be very inaccurate. A mental-growth characteristic of special interest relates to the age of maturity, or limit of mental growth. Here again the difference between mental content and mental growth must be kept in mind; the fact that mental ability must be measured on the basis of the ability to perform tasks of a mental nature makes it imperative that such tasks should not involve much formal educational experience. Mental growth does seem to proceed rather rapidly during the early years of life, and even up to the ages of 14, 15, or 16; and then, according to Thorndike's analysis of H. E. Jones' data,²⁷ there is a slow increase up to 20. Whether the latter slow increase is an increase in actual mental ability or one of mental content is a matter of controversy. However, it is quite likely that many extraneous factors reduce the accuracy of the rates and limits derived for mental growth at any given period.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Look up several definitions of intelligence and compare them with those given in this chapter.
2. To what extent is mental development related to the age of pubescence? To physical maturity?
3. What do the various experiments appear to indicate relative to intelligence? What are the various correlations that have been obtained?
4. How is mental ability related to learning? How should this relation affect the curriculum prior to adolescence?
5. How would you account for the relation between mental and physical development? What is the educational significance of this relation?
6. What mental expansion in yourself took place as you reached adolescence?
7. What are some of the different methods of measuring mental development? Why might an application of one of the methods to a group of adolescents be unfair to some?
8. Compare curves of growth in memory and reasoning. What would you conclude from such a comparison?

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²⁷ E. L. Thorndike and others: *Adult Learning*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.

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VI

Adolescent Interests

The meaning of interests. It has already been pointed out that the adolescent is in no sense a passive agent in a constant environment. The mode of reaction on the part of the adolescent is determined not only by the environment but by the specific direction, in accordance with changes that have been wrought in the neuromuscular system during the earlier years of experience, of the energies of the organism. Interest, then, is purposive insofar as a situation produces a response in the individual such that certain desires and strivings are channeled toward realization.

The word *interest* is derived from the Latin word, *interesse*, which means "to be between," "to make a difference," "to concern," "to be of value." Interest has been described as that "something between" which secures some desired goal, or is a means to an end *which is of value to the individual* because of its driving force, usefulness, pleasure, or general social and vocational significance. Interest is a form of emotional state in the individual's life which is interrelated with the general habit system of activity. Moreover, during a state of interest, certain parts of the environment are singled out, not merely because of such objective conditions of attention as *intensity, extensity, duration, movement*, but because changes have been established in the neuromuscular system which cause the organism to favor some reactions to the exclusion of others. The term *interest* has ordinarily been referred to in describing or explaining why the organism tends to favor some situations and thus comes to react to them in a very selective manner. Interest is directly related to voluntary attention, and when interest is not present, attention tends to fluctuate readily.

The organism must be considered in terms of the biological and social drives that have been referred to. Hence, with growing knowledge, and experiences developing and integrating special habit patterns, the individual reaching adolescence has both *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* interests. It is of course well that there be a balance existing between these interests.

The age of adolescence has been referred to by psychologists as the period of varied and peculiar interests. It should be recognized, first, that all interests grow out of experiences, and the life experiences of the organism tend to guide and direct the development of further interests. In attempting to build some interest in the life of the child, it should therefore be recognized that any such interest must be established according to the laws of learning, just as other habit patterns are formed. Over a long period of careful observations it becomes evident that different individuals have preferred ways of reacting to a specific phase of their environment, and these are somewhat characteristic of the organism concerned. When the adolescent chooses some special book to read instead of pursuing an athletic game, we recognize that a special type of interest is present. This interest is in itself a drive to a special type of action. When a boy pursues a game for its own sake or for the amusement and fun that he gets from the exercise, then his interest is referred to as intrinsic or as "an end unto itself." On the other hand, when a boy goes into athletics in order to keep himself fit or to develop certain desirable character traits, we have an example of extrinsic interests, or a means to arrive at some desirable element. Athletics, reading a book, driving an automobile, and practically any activity we might consider may be of either an intrinsic or an extrinsic type of interest. Intrinsic interest is usually more spontaneous than extrinsic interest.

This differentiation in the nature of interests is a matter of importance to parents, teachers, or boys' workers who wish to regulate the overflow of restlessness in boyhood and youth. An individual responds to an intrinsic interest, to the pleasure which his palate will take, for instance, in a fine dinner, more readily than to a plain meal which is good for his health. At the same time, adolescence may also be rightly thought of as the period when individuals begin to look with a longer horizon upon the experiences of daily living as a means to an end. Wise adults are accustomed to look beyond the immediate gratification yielded by an activity to discover its values.¹

The growth of interests. The early interests of the child are centered on purely personal relations. When he sees an animal which he has not seen before, he will ask, "What is it? Will it bite?" and these questions are not scientific in nature; neither are they prompted by the ideal of scientific inquiry. Nevertheless, even at this stage in the intellectual development of the child one sees evidence of individual interest in the

¹ W. R. Boorman: *Developing Personality in Boys*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, p. 41. (Quoted by permission of the publishers.)

structure, behavior, and life history of the animal. This represents the beginning of a scientific interest in life, and especially the life of animals. Interest is dependent on experience, but this does not mean that the native ability does not play a part in the development of interest. The physical growth of the organism, itself, is an important factor in the development of interests. Even visceral and glandular activities may affect the direction of one's interests. We shall not attempt to go into the physiological basis of interest, save to admit that all interests ultimately have a biological basis. This biological basis may be either organic or functional, but the development of any interest is limited by experience. The interests of the high school boys and girls are therefore within the limit of their training and environment and are always limited by their physiological development and their innate ability.

By the time boys and girls reach the age of adolescence and are beginning high school work, a very great range of interests and also a pronounced sex difference will be noticed. Careful, controlled observations have led many psychologists to emphasize the importance of the role played by experience in differentiating the interests of both races and sexes. Symonds² found that boys conventionally expressed greater interest in health, safety, money, and sex than did girls. Prominent among interests which girls expressed on questionnaires are: personal attractiveness, personal philosophy, daily schedule, mental health, and home relations. There were indications, as might be expected, that city pupils were more conscious of social skills than rural boys and girls. Environmental factors, intelligence, sex differences, maturity, and training combine as complex and integrated factors in affecting the growth of the interests of boys and girls from childhood through adolescence to adulthood. Strong's³ studies of the maturity of interests at different age levels reveal among other things that the period of adolescence and youth is characterized by pronounced changes in interests.

Interest in personal appearance. When a boy begins to spend more time combing his hair and washing his teeth, when he calls for a clean shirt with a necktie to match, we can be sure that there is a dawning sex and social consciousness. As long as he is a boy he cares little about his personal appearance, except when his parents or friends have,

² P. M. Symonds: "Comparison of the Problems and Interests of Young Adolescents Living in City and Country," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1936, 10, pp. 231-236; also, "Life Problems and Interests of Adolescents," *The School Review*, 1936, 44, pp. 506-518.

³ E. K. Strong: "Interest Maturity," *Personnel Journal*, 1933, 12, pp. 79-90.

through constant effort, made it otherwise. This is very noticeable in the fact that his hair so often remains uncombed and his hands, face, and neck dirty. Life among other boys is too fascinating and adventurous to bother about trying to keep clean, so that dirty and wrinkled wearing apparel is often preferred to clean and well-kept clothes.

In the previous chapter it was pointed out that when pubescence arrives, a pronounced change is manifested in the interest in the opposite sex, and this is all closely related to a keener consciousness about personal appearance. Before this time the girl, though somewhat less indifferent than her brother in the matter of personal appearance, has not shown much interest in styles or appearance except in a sort of imitative manner. With the onset of pubescence, she becomes more interested in the show window and the fashion sheet and visualizes herself dressed in a tailored suit according to the pattern of youth. The demand for sport clothes, beach pajamas, winter sport outfits, and sport jackets is characteristic of this period of life.

Although the boy is not provided with as many decorations nor as wide a variety of wearing apparel as the girl, he is very interested in making the most of the things he uses. The well-pressed suit and clean shirt become the order of this time; he turns his attention to cleanliness and to well-groomed hair and nails without being constantly reminded of these things by his mother. The taste concerning some of these things will vary with different localities, but the one that will be followed by most of the boys is the one that meets with approval, and especially approval from the opposite sex.

This increased interest in both boys and girls reaches a very great height toward the postpubescent period, and at an early stage is likely to bring adolescents into conflict with their parents. Some of the problems related to this will be discussed more fully in Chapter IX. The ten-cent stores have made it possible for boys and girls to find cheap imitations that aid them considerably in adorning themselves and in copying styles of others who are in better financial circumstances. By examining and recognizing the nature of these interests one can obtain a more accurate portrait of the teen years and the dawning social consciousness than through perhaps any other means available.

Interest in play. A differentiation has already been made between extrinsic and intrinsic interests. Needless to say, both should have a place in the development of a well-balanced personality. Educators are recognizing more and more keenly the necessity for educating people in better means of using their leisure. With the increase of complexity

in civilization and the decrease in hours of labor, much unoccupied time is left to the average citizen; but education has not yet prepared the citizen to use it wholesomely and worthily.

Play has an intrinsic value for the adolescent, but with further growth and development extrinsic values become more and more sought. Play activities tend to supply the adolescent with physique, health, neuromuscular skills, and the desire for recreation. Pupil interests in play are conditioned largely during the adolescent age; such forces as environment, age, sex, race, custom, and intelligence operate to effect various differences. Some of these forces we shall review.

The values of physical activities are as various as the values of life itself. The physical, mental, social, and moral natures owe much of their development to play. Play has been interpreted by some as the "school of infancy and early childhood," a concept which has received very strong support from G. Stanley Hall and others who hold to the recapitulation theory as applied to human behavior. The recent tendency to consider growth as a continuous process and the further emphasis on the recreational phase of activity have modified this notion of play.

Studies by Lehman and Witty show that interest in play cannot be confined to early childhood. They gathered data from 6,881 children concerning activities in which the children had engaged during the preceding week and the number of activities in which they had participated alone. The data thus gathered led the investigators to conclude:

1. Attempts to differentiate certain C. A. (chronological age) periods in terms of differences displayed by children in diversity of play activities seem unjustifiable.

2. The play trends which characterize a given age group seem to be the result of gradual changes occurring during the growth period. These changes are not sudden and characterized by periodicity but are gradual and contingent.

3. Nor can any age or group of ages, between 8 and 19 inclusive, be characterized as disclosing play behavior primarily social or primarily individualistic. . . . Such a practice is unwarranted.⁴

Today play activity of some kind is recognized as of value in all stages of life. The time is past when, like our Puritan fathers, we turned from the play activities because they were a total "waste of

⁴ H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty: "Periodicity and Growth," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1927, 11, pp. 106-116.

time." Only the idle, daydreaming child who indulges in fantasy instead of wholesome play activity wastes his time. In the extensive studies of play conduct by Lehman and Witty two very important facts were revealed. These are: (1) play is a continuous process rather than an activity confined to the period of childhood; (2) there is an enormous overlapping in play interests for individuals of the same age but of different sex, of different racial groups, or of different intelligence levels.⁵ In the case of sex differences, boys' games were found to be a bit more vigorous and better organized. The differences appearing in different communities revealed that sex alone was not responsible for the nature and interests in play.

There is no evidence that children of superior mental ability are lacking in play interests. The study of Lehman and Wilkerson is of special interest in connection with this problem.⁶

Through the use of the *Lehman Quiz Blank*, data were obtained relative to the play behavior of 6,000 children. The problem of the investigation was to compare the relative influence of mental age with that of chronological age as far as these affect the play behavior of children. From an analysis of the data gathered it appears that a variation of one year in the chronological age exerted a greater influence on the subject's play behavior than did a variation of the mental age by one year. The various studies of play activities among the gifted reveal a greater tendency toward solitary types of play; they prefer games involving rules and systems, and engage less frequently in activities demanding muscular strength and endurance. Gifted children, like all other human beings, find success pleasing and prefer activities in which they can succeed. Since this is the case, they prefer games requiring mental ingenuity to those of pure chance.

An analysis of the data gathered by Lehman and Witty⁷ regarding sex differences of bright boys and girls shows a great similarity in activities. A closer analysis reveals that the dull boys have a higher index of social participation and prefer activities of a motor type, although there is a great deal of overlapping. Successful competition which in the end brings vicarious satisfaction is the most probable ex-

⁵ H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty: *The Psychology of Play Activities*. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1927.

⁶ H. C. Lehman and Doxey A. Wilkerson: "The Influence of Chronological Age Versus Mental Age on Play Behavior," *Pedagogical Seminar and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1928, 35, pp. 312-321.

⁷ H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty: "The Play Behavior of Fifty Gifted Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1927, 18, pp. 529-565.

planation for these differences in interest. The organism tries out various modes of behavior until success is attained to some degree. The bright pupil gains vicarious satisfaction in reading and is able to compete most successfully in activities requiring problem solving and thinking. The formula for both the bright child and the dull child is the same; but it seems reasonable to assume that the type of activity that satisfies the felt need of the adolescent is the one that is chosen.

Team activities. The apparent sudden change in the play activities of adolescence is not to be accounted for on the basis of the sudden ripening or maturing of some instinct or impulse. The growing child has matured in strength and prowess, and surplus energy acts as a biological drive. New social realms are ever broadening, and constant contacts with fellow members of the group contribute to the development of team play. The individual soon learns that through co-operative endeavors he may satisfy certain needs that cannot be satisfied in solitary play; therefore team activities develop in harmony with the satisfaction of certain *felt* needs. These needs have a biological basis but are socialized in accordance with the expanding social life of the individual. Interest in team games develops along with earlier individualistic play interests and tends to supplement rather than supplant them. The maturation of the sex glands and a consequent interest in the opposite sex are partially responsible for the change toward group activity in adolescence. At this period, many games have the social element involved to a greater degree than before. The sexes are beginning* to mingle and to develop interests of a sexual-social nature; girls now become loyal to boys' teams, and boys to those of the girls. Also at this period of life, games for both boys and girls become more formal in nature, and definite rules are laid down in order better to standardize the playing. The play of adolescent girls is often similar to that of the boys, usually having some modification in order that it will not be too strenuous.

In both large and small high schools certain types of activity predominate. Athletics seem to be the most popular in the average high school. Terry⁸ found a number of years ago that 30 per cent of the clubs he investigated were athletic in character; Woody and Chapell found the same trend.⁹ Basketball, baseball, and track are the sports

⁸ Paul W. Terry: "General Survey of Practices: Junior High School," *Twenty-Fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, 1926, pp. 23-38.

⁹ J. C. Woody and E. H. Chapell: "Pupil Participation in the Extracurricular Activities in the Smaller High Schools of Michigan," *Twenty-Fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, 1926, pp. 81-96.

most commonly found in the smaller high schools, football being stressed more in the larger high schools. Woody found, further, a tendency on the part of the small high school toward interscholastic rather than intramural participation.

Much controversial discussion has been carried on concerning the effect of athletics on the scholarship and health of growing youths. Exactly how much of the discussion has included points worthy of consideration is hard to determine, since the results of any athletic program will depend largely upon the nature of the program and the manner in which it is directed. There is much evidence that participation in athletics has had a beneficial effect, by keeping a great number of boys in school who did not find sufficient inducement to remain in the rest of the school program.

Interest in competitive team activities among adolescents and postadolescents is encouraged not only through high school contests, but also through programs sponsored by the American Legion and other organizations, which have aided in creating a national interest in baseball, as well as in other types of athletics. The values to be derived from participating in athletics are many and diverse, and not the least of these is the development of interests likely to become permanent and to have recreational and mental hygiene value throughout the later years of life.

Since participation in athletics tends to make for muscular development, and since muscular development is not looked upon by our present social groups as feminine in nature, girls are less interested in participating in athletics, especially as they reach adolescence and are motivated to play the woman's role by becoming and remaining feminine in nature. This is a problem which must be reckoned with by those concerned with athletic programs for girls. There is need for a redefinition of feminine qualities and of human values and needs in connection with this problem.

Interest in movies. Studies reveal that boys and girls of high school age attend movies considerably less frequently than do the children of the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades. This is due to a great amount of social activity in high schools, in clubs, and committees, which allows them less leisure. The attendance of both grade school and high school children is very largely confined to the week-end—Saturdays and Sundays. During adolescent years, romantic attraction, "dating," develops and movie attendance increases on Friday evenings. Children at all ages attend more often in the evening. Boys place athletics above movies.

Girls do not. Later, girls show a preference for dancing and "dates" over movies. According to the materials presented in Figure 8, about 45 per cent of boys and approximately 60 per cent of girls 8 years of age attend the movies with the father or mother.¹⁰ There is a constant growth with advancing age in attendance of the movies with their own friends and others. Thus, the socialization process is definitely operating in movie attendance. The kinds of movies preferred by high school

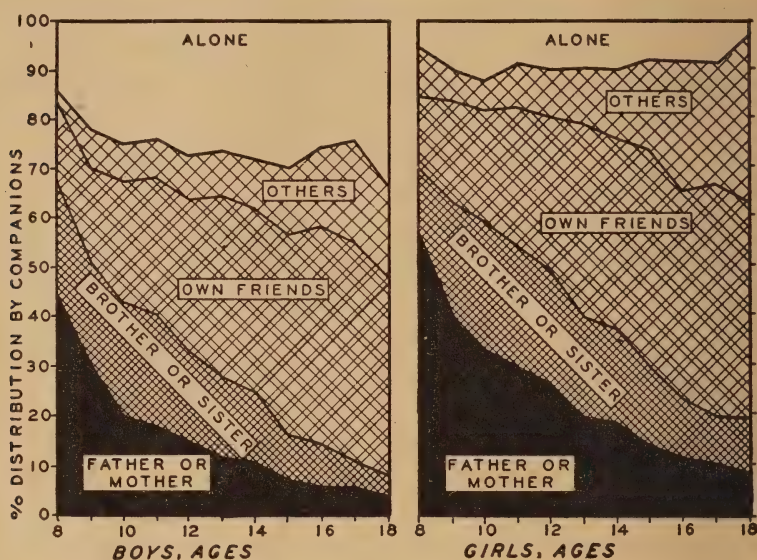


FIG. 8. Percentage distribution of movie attendants according to the comparisons accompanying them. Ages are 8 to 18, by sex.

boys and girls show sex differences. Adventure pictures come first for high school boys, eighth for high school girls (see Table V).¹¹ Romantic pictures come seventh for high school boys, first for high school girls. Tragic pictures come eighth for high school boys, fourth for girls.

As growth progresses into adolescence, there is a change in their preferences. Western pictures come first for grade school boys, sixth for high school boys. Historical pictures come ninth for grade school boys, third for high school boys. Western pictures come first for grade school girls, seventh for high school girls. Historical pictures come seventh for grade school girls, second for high school girls.

¹⁰ From Edgar Dale: *Children's Attendance at Motion Pictures*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935. (Reproduced by permission of the publishers.)

¹¹ A. M. Mitchell: *Children and Movies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 167.

TABLE V

FREQUENCY OF SELECTION OF SPECIFIED TYPES OF MOVIES AS FIRST CHOICE

	Boys				Girls			
	Grade School		High School		Grade School		High School	
	Per Cent	Rank Order	Per Cent	Rank Order	Per Cent	Rank Order	Per Cent	Rank Order
Adventure.....	13.7	2	13.7	1	7.2	5	6.1	8
Comedy.....	11.4	3	13.0	2	16.5	2	10.3	3
Educational.....	1.3	10	2.8	10	1.4	10	2.1	10
Historical.....	2.0	9	12.9	3	4.6	7	10.6	2
Mystery.....	6.3	4	8.9	5	6.8	6	8.8	5
Romance.....	4.7	7	7.0	7	13.3	3	22.8	1
Sport.....	5.3	5	11.9	4	3.7	8	8.0	6
Tragedy.....	2.1	8	5.6	8	7.7	4	9.9	4
War.....	5.1	6	3.8	9	2.2	9	2.2	9
Western.....	34.0	1	7.5	6	20.2	1	6.5	7

Order of rank correlations figured from this table give the following results:

Grade school and high school boys.....	r	.49
Grade school and high school girls.....	r	.52
Grade school boys and girls.....	r	.58
High school boys and girls.....	r	.35

Movies and the radio have a marked influence upon adolescence. In their earlier years, adolescents like pictures about love, war, and mystery, as well as adventure films and comedies. Generally, boys attend the movies more than girls, except when play interests keep them from attending. Interest in love stories on the stage and in the movies increases in the grades and is more characteristic of girls than boys. Ninth and tenth grade children like mystery plays. Often boys are interested in science pictures—such as Lindbergh's first flight across the Atlantic. It is characteristic for girls to have a movie "hero" or "ideal."

Interest in the radio. The studies made of the types of radio programs preferred by boys and girls at different age levels show these preferences to be in harmony with those obtained for reading activities and the movies. Brown reports a study made by graduate students of New York University during the spring of 1936.¹² A total of 2,500 boys and girls from grades 5, 8, 10, and 12 were asked to "check each of the types of programs to which you enjoy listening." The results of that study

¹² F. J. Brown: *The Sociology of Childhood*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939, pp. 327-328.

TABLE VI
TYPES OF RADIO PROGRAMS LIKED BEST BY BOYS AND GIRLS
(After Brown)

TYPE OF PROGRAM	FIFTH GRADE		EIGHTH GRADE		TENTH GRADE		TWELFTH GRADE	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Mystery plays.....	94.0%	97.1%	94.3%	95.1%	84.9%	76.0%	66.7%	39.4%
Comic dialogues and skits.....	86.4	96.2	92.0	98.5	87.9	93.0	76.8	78.3
Dramatic plays.....	88.0	90.0	82.8	84.7	67.1	86.2	55.0	89.8
Popular dance music...	47.3	70.2	63.4	81.3	83.5	95.2	94.2	98.7
Popular song hits.....	45.1	53.6	52.4	60.2	78.1	81.3	70.5	82.4
Semiclassical music: or- chestra and band....	44.4	60.0	78.3	81.4	60.8	57.2	17.2	32.4
News, including sports.	12.3	46.4	47.5	31.3	55.3	52.6	54.8	26.1
Political speeches.....	6.6	2.0	46.4	19.6	51.2	33.0	45.2	18.0
Classical music, includ- ing opera.....	5.7	10.2	16.4	25.0	12.3	23.1	10.8	20.2
Educational talks.....	1.4	3.6	11.5	8.1	22.0	12.2	13.4	13.4

are presented in Table VI. Mystery plays were liked by a very large per cent of students at all grade levels, with the possible exception of twelfth grade girls. Comic dialogues and skits and dramatic plays were also liked at all grade levels. The increased interest in social activities is reflected in the growth of liking for popular dance music and for song hits. With an increase in age there is also an increased interest in political events and educational topics; however, the small percentage of those liking educational programs, like the small percentage interested in educational movies, presents a challenge to educators. Perhaps a few lessons from professional entertainers or playwrights could be used to an advantage in this connection.

Reading interests. One of the most thorough of the studies of reading interests was conducted by Jordan.¹³ His study revealed some rather striking sex differences in reading interests during adolescence. Table VII gives the results.

An analysis of the results summarized in the table by the types of books preferred indicates that a considerable amount of overlapping exists for both sexes and also for the different age groups. This is to be expected, since, as has already been pointed out, growth seems to be a con-

¹³ A. M. Jordan: *Educational Psychology*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1928, pp. III-III2.

TABLE VII

PERCENTAGE TABLE INDICATING THE RELATIVE PROPORTION OF BOOKS CHOSEN IN EACH CLASS

AGES	NO. OF SUBJECTS		ADULT FICTION		JUVENILE FICTION		ADVENTURE	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
9-11..	59	87	4	15	27	67	56	12
12-13..	253	336	6	33	19	44	64	17
14-16..	846	1,195	18	45	11	30	59	18
17-18..	283	414	50	58	9	13	49	12

tinuous rather than a periodic process. The developmental concept of growth as represented in physical and mental growth will hold true also for growth in behavior units, interests, and intellectual concepts. Various studies of reading interests show a keen interest in fiction among girls, whereas adventure stories are preferred by boys. During later adolescence (postadolescence) there is a natural shift of girls' interest from juvenile to adult fiction, the trend of boys' interests being toward biography, history, travel, information of a general type, and humor; and yet there is considerable overlapping.

The interest of the girls in fiction is apparent in Table VII. The books preferred by girls, according to Jordan's study, were: *The Girl of the Limberlost*, *Little Women*, *Pollyanna*, *Freckles*, and Zane Grey's works; boys listed the *Boy Scout Series*, *The Call of the Wild*, and *Treasure Island*. Even in the magazine list, Jordan found a remarkable interest in fiction on the part of girls. These results are in harmony with more recent findings by Harold Saxe Tuttle from his survey of the reading tastes of eighth grade pupils throughout the country.¹⁴ *Tom Sawyer* was first in the list of books these pupils had read and enjoyed, with *Treasure Island* and *Little Women* second and third, respectively. Considerable differences are found in the incidents in reading materials preferred by boys and those preferred by girls. Boys prefer actions, such as mischievous pranks, fights, races, moving around, and adventure; whereas girls prefer mystery far more than boys, as well as deaths, accidents, kind acts, and events involving social and romantic elements. Several studies have been concerned with basic interest pattern rather than with the actual reading preferences of children; Thorndike con-

¹⁴ See a report of Professor Tuttle's study in *The New York Times*, October 3, 1943, p. 43.

cludes from his studies that sex is the most important determining factor, and that within a particular school system the bright child's pattern of interest will be most like that of the dull child who is several years older.¹⁵

Although the reading of comic magazines reaches its height among the preadolescents, it is a popular pastime of many adolescents. With increased maturity, there is a falling off of interest in comic magazines with an increased interest in comic strips.¹⁶ This is well illustrated in the case of the development of Karl.

At the age of seven Karl showed a great deal of interest in cartoons displaying activities of animals and children. There was a gradual change of interest with increased age, so that by the age of ten he was keenly interested in super activities of men, who were oftentimes made heroes; with the outbreak of World War II, he became interested in constructing comics of his own and developed a series of comics at the age of eleven entitled, *Flying Tommy*.

Karl was always very successful in his school work and had a reading ability two years advanced for his age. He was above average in physical and mental development. At the age of twelve he seemed to lose interest in most comic magazines, but showed an increased interest in a number of comic strips. There was a significant relationship observed between these changes of interest in the comics and the development and change of interest in the radio, movies, and play activities.

Expanding interests. The child's general satisfaction with himself and his surroundings gives way during adolescence under the pressure of many problems, difficulties, and maladjustments. Once indifferent to matters not immediately related to pleasure and pain, he now has an intense curiosity and self-consciousness, and a real concern with the social and ethical standards of adults. Curiosity may show itself in a great many different ways, but it is also subject to ready perversion if in unwholesome surroundings. This is true especially of those impulses and interests of the adolescent that are now maturing and becoming more and more important in his life. Satisfaction and complacency in routine is often replaced rather suddenly by a restlessness leading toward idealistic behavior trends or probably into antisocial activities. After years of activities concerned largely with egocentric interests and

¹⁵ R. L. Thorndike and Florence Henry: "Differences in Reading Interests Related to Differences in Sex and Intelligence Level," *Elementary School Journal*, 1940, 40, pp. 751-763.

¹⁶ See P. Witty and Anne Coomer: "Reading the Comics in Grades IX-XII," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 1942, 28, pp. 344-353.

activity for its own sake, the adolescent is thrown into further contacts with others. With newer interests and contacts, he acquires new purposes and interests in special activities leading to definite results, whether in his play or in his work. But having acquired these expanded interests, he stands in need of further stimulation, inspiration, information, and guidance.

These expanding and maturing interests are clearly revealed in the changes in the topics of conversation among boys as they progress from freshman to senior year in high school.¹⁷ The results of Table VIII are

TABLE VIII

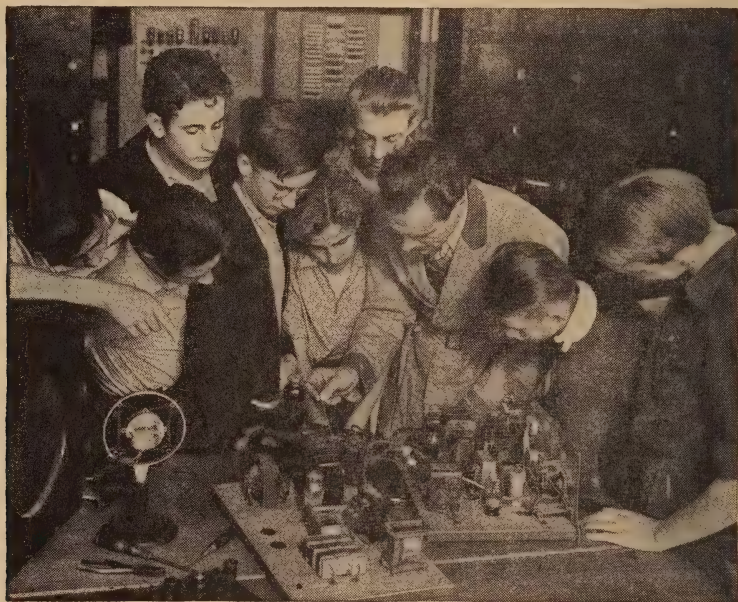
TOPICS HIGH SCHOOL BOYS MOST FREQUENTLY TALK ABOUT
AMONG THEMSELVES (*After Fleece*)

Rank	Topic	Freshmen	Sophomores	Juniors	Seniors	All Classes
1.	Sports	62.0%	80.2%	75.0%	75.1%	73.3%
2.	Girls	53.6	67.6	70.6	80.0	68.0
3.	School, studies, teachers	27.0	27.2	29.0	27.3	27.6
4.	Social activities, dates, good times	9.6	16.0	20.1	24.2	17.5
5.	Sex, sexual relations, dirty jokes	11.2	12.4	16.4	20.1	15.0
6.	Movies	16.4	10.4	9.0	7.6	10.9
7.	Current happenings ...	7.6	7.9	7.1	10.6	8.4
8.	Cars, airplanes, machines,	5.4	8.2	7.4	7.0	7.0
9.	Generalities	7.4	5.0	4.1	6.4	5.7
10.	Other boys	5.4	4.2	3.3	3.4	4.1
11.	One's experiences	6.0	3.2	2.0	1.6	3.2
12.	Hobbies	2.5	3.2	4.4	2.0	3.0
13.	Job or work	1.0	1.8	2.0	6.1	2.7
14.	Money	1.2	2.8	3.0	3.1	2.5
15.	Things one is going to do ...	1.9	2.0	3.4	2.2	2.4
16.	Future vocation	1.2	1.4	1.6	4.7	2.2
17.	Miscellaneous: religion, clothes, homes, eats, etc.	4.0	2.2	3.2	4.3	3.4
18.	No answer	3.4	1.6	.8	.4	1.6

¹⁷ Urban H. Fleece: *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy*. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1945, p. 234.

based on the replies of 2,000 boys who mentioned nearly 6,000 topics which they most frequently talked about among themselves.

The most outstanding change noted was the greatly increased interest in girls, dates, and matters relating to sex. However, there is also an increase of interest in current happenings, and in vocational pursuits.



Courtesy, Los Angeles Public Schools.

A group exploring the secrets of the radio.

Interests and intelligence. There are a number of experiments that have given information about the ways in which the interests of children of superior mental ability differ from those of children of inferior mental ability. Boynton has made a study of the relationship between children's tested intelligence and their hobby participation.¹⁸ The subjects of his study consisted of 4,779 boys and girls from the sixth grade of 258 schools. The children were given the *Kuhlmann Anderson Intelligence Tests*, and the teacher arrived at their hobbies from a conference held with each child. Most of the children had from three to six hobbies. Boynton concludes that, "Some hobbies tend to be participated in more frequently by children of high tested intelligence than do other hobbies." Children without a hobby, especially girls, are more likely to be below average in general intelligence. When both sexes were con-

¹⁸ P. L. Boynton: "The Relationship between Children's Tested Intelligence and Their Hobby Participation," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1941, 58, pp. 353-362.

sidered together, the hobbies of collecting, playing musical instruments, and reading were found frequently among those of superior ability. No single hobby appeared to be associated with those of lower than average intelligence. The superior children also appeared to have a greater diversification of hobby interests than very inferior ones. This finding is in harmony with certain conclusions arrived at by Bayard from a comparative study of the interests of high and low ability high school students. He concludes the following:

1. The sum of the average likes and dislikes is the same for both groups; but whereas the high ability group likes approximately twice as many activities as it dislikes, the low ability group dislikes slightly more than it likes. . . .

7. A comparison of the profiles shows that in general both groups like and dislike the same activities in the same categories, although the relative liking of one area as compared to another area may be different. The one exception which may be significant is mathematics.¹⁹

Another study, conducted at Peabody College under the direction of Boynton, revealed that reading interests and intelligence go hand in hand. In this study Lewis and McGehee²⁰ gathered data from children from 455 schools in 310 communities in 36 states. The interests of those scoring in the top ten per cent on the *Kuhlmann Anderson Intelligence Tests* were compared with those of the lowest ten per cent. According to their study, dramatics, religious activity, studying, scouting, and campfire activity make a greater appeal to children of superior mental ability. More than twelve times as many retarded children as gifted indicated no hobby. The superior children were more interested in both active and quiet games than were the inferior.

According to the genetic case study of interests, conducted by Mackaye²¹ with adolescent subjects, early fixation and permanence of interests were most commonly found among those of inferior intelligence. The interests of subjects of higher intelligence were therefore more unstable in nature. Wishful thinking is oftentimes the basis of voca-

¹⁹ B. Bayard: "A Comparison of the Interests of Students of Low Ability Enrolled in Physical Science and of Students of High Ability Enrolled in Physics," *University High School Journal*, 1941, 20, pp. 15-19.

²⁰ W. D. Lewis and William McGehee: "A Comparison of the Interests of the Mentally Superior and Retarded Children," *School and Society*, 1940, 52, pp. 597-600.

²¹ David L. Mackaye: "The Fixation of Vocational Interest," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1927, 33, pp. 353-370.

tional interests, and the interests may show very little relation to actual ability. This is especially true for interests formulated without experience as a background. Terman's exhaustive studies²² of gifted children have revealed that there is a preference among the gifted for school subjects demanding abstract thinking. A number of other studies have pointed rather definitely to the same conclusions.

Problems of adjustment in relation to changing interests. There are no difficulties encountered in changing interests by those boys and girls whose interests and values coincide with those of the group with whom they work and play in school and on the playground. However, there are some children whose physiological development is accelerated. For these boys and girls an interest in less mature and less social games is a thing of the past. Such boys and girls may seek connections in the church or in some special neighborhood activities where there are other boys and girls with these more mature interests. A wholesome and friendly home relationship may help the individual during this stage. If there are several others in the grade at school who have more mature interests also, the adjustment may result in the acquisition of close chums or in the formation of small cliques.

Then, there is the boy or girl who is less mature in his or her interests than the other boys and girls of the group. This individual often-times develops an attitude of indifference toward the activities of the group as a whole, but may be able to find comfort and the needed friendship in activities with any others of the group who likewise reveal a less mature interest; in which case, such children will not be seriously affected by the time lag in their maturity. Such friendships should be encouraged at this stage.

However, it is for the individual who has advanced at the same pace as the average in his physiological development but who, for some social or cultural reason, is unable to participate in the activities of the group, that the problem is more serious. Racial, religious, or social conflicts between the practices or ideals of the home and those of the group may be responsible for such a condition. An individual who, because of some such condition, is unable to change his pattern of interests in harmony with the interests of the growing boys and girls with whom he is thrown, in and out of school, is going to be faced with a difficult adjustment problem, and this problem is likely to affect his school

²² Lewis M. Terman: *Genetic Studies of Genius*. Vol. 1. Palo Alto, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1926.

work, his attitude toward his home, and other phases of his personal and social life.

Summary. The early interests of adolescents are personal in nature. There is a desire for recognition by one's peers, first by one's own sex group, then, with further development, by members of the opposite sex. This is reflected in the play and social life of adolescents. Boys and girls not only want to belong to, and thus be an essential part of, the group, but they also have a keen desire to gain the approval of their peers. Thus, there is a strong tendency toward group loyalty and conformity. These characteristics of adolescents are very clearly exhibited in their interests in reading, the movies, the radio, and other everyday activities in the community and at school.

The adolescent's interests lead in many directions and may change considerably in a short time. When they are not expressed in reality they usually appear in his daydreams, wishes, and imagination. It is essential that parents and teachers have a knowledge of adolescent interests, so that they may aid him better to understand himself and direct or guide him toward a more complete fulfillment of his aspirations and possibilities.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. Point out the significance of adolescents' interests in magazines.
2. Study the early life (adolescent period) of some of our leaders of today. What interests dominated their life during the adolescent age?
3. Discuss the range of adolescent interests as compared with the interests of the 8-year-old child.
4. What interests have been somewhat permanent in your own life? Why?
5. Show how a knowledge of the nature of adolescents' interests is of especial value to a school teacher; to a scoutmaster.
6. What changes have you observed among adolescents in their interests in the radio?
7. Bring in a report on peacetime recreation for adolescents. (See especially the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November 1944, p. 145.)

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For a good bibliography of extracurricular activities during the secondary school period, see the yearly selected bibliography presented by Paul W. Terry in *The School Review*, 1945, 53, pp. 240-244.

VII

Growth in Attitudes and Social Behavior

The development of attitudes. The term *attitude* has been adopted to express a phase of development of a more highly integrated nature than that of factual learning. Thurstone, a number of years ago, defined an attitude as: "The sum total of man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any specified topic. Thus a man's attitude about pacifism means here all that he feels and thinks about peace and war. It is admittedly a subjective and personal affair."¹

Attitudes always relate to situations around which we have constructed various habit patterns and built up various images and concepts; it has been constantly observed that physical and social contacts result in the establishment of conscious adjustments and reaction tendencies. The child born and reared in a social world is continually subject to ever-changing social stimuli; socially, he becomes what his environment has made him. He develops attitudes toward objects and persons, and through such attitudes brings himself into adjustment with his world.

Attitudes are developed in several different ways. Hoban says:

They may be "soaked up" from the social milieu in which a person moves, they may result from severe emotional (traumatic) experiences, or they may be developed on the basis of critical examination of accumulated experiences. In the first case, where attitudes are "soaked up," the individual accepts uncritically the major premises of those individuals or groups with which he is identified or whose authority is unquestioned in his mind. In the second case, where attitudes are developed out of strong emotional experience, the attitudes are almost completely undifferentiated and nonintellectual. A person with attitudes formed traumatically reacts primarily on the basis of strong emotion rather than on the basis of critical examination of accumulated experiences; the attitudes, while emotionally toned, are intellectually

¹ L. L. Thurstone: "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1928, 33, p. 531.

integrated, and the emotions involved constitute concomitant experiences rather than predetermined elements.²

Change of attitudes. It has already been suggested that attitudes are "determiners of behavior," and that they develop out of social experiences. There is evidence that the deep-seated attitudes acquired early in life are not changed to a marked degree by later experiences, and that, when such changes do occur, they are more temporary in nature than is the case for those attitudes not so deeply rooted or even for those acquired at a later period. However, intelligence, educational environment, and years of schooling are positively related to changes in individual attitudes when such changes are in harmony with reason and understanding rather than with emotions and feeling states. A study by Clem and Smith in which a questionnaire involving 15 items was administered to 1,172 secondary school pupils throws further light upon this problem. This study was designed to determine the attitude of high school pupils of different grade levels to certain moral situations. Some conclusions reached from this study are:

1. The attitude of pupils toward such personal habits as swearing, drinking, gambling, and playing cards on Sunday becomes more tolerant in succeeding grades of the six-year secondary school. In general, the reverse is true for cheating, lying, conceit, vulgarity, selfishness, gossip, and extravagance.

2. In terms of "badness," stealing is uniformly considered by all grades the worst of all items studied, and dancing the least "bad."

3. It is evident throughout the study that lower grade pupils are more inclined to make choices on the basis of indoctrination than are upper grade pupils. Upper grade pupils exhibit better social discrimination and judgment, and less ingrained respect for the law.

4. In terms of law observance, upper grade pupils are more inclined to substitute personal judgment for blind obedience: the spirit for the letter of the law.³

The effects of puberty. In order to determine the effect of the menarche,⁴ Stone and Barker⁵ studied the interests and attitudes of

² C. F. Hoban: *Focus on Learning*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1942, pp. 95-96.

³ O. M. Clem and Marcus Smith: "Grade Differences in Attitudinal Reactions of Six-Year Secondary School Pupils," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1934, 25, p. 308.

⁴ Onset of the menstrual period denotes neither the beginning nor the end of the pubescent period. Even prior to the menarche, there are some noticeable changes present in the contour of the girl.

⁵ Calvin P. Stone and Roger G. Barker: "The Attitudes and Interests of Pre-

1,000 girls of two large junior high schools of Berkeley, California. It was necessary to include all the children of the age range in which from one and one-half to two years' difference in menarche appeared. These girls were matched with respect to chronological ages and social status, but were significantly different in physiological development—the one group being considered postmenarcheal and the other premenarcheal. From this study it was found that postmenarcheal girls favor the interest and attitude items that are more mature in nature to a greater degree than the premenarcheal. A greater proportion of postmenarcheal than of premenarcheal girls of similar chronological ages favor those responses that indicate an interest and favorable attitude toward the opposite sex. The postmenarcheal girls were more interested in adornment and display of the person than were the premenarcheal. The postmenarcheal girls, according to their responses, engaged in daydreaming and imaginative activities of such types to a greater degree than did the premenarcheal. There was no noticeable difference found in the extent to which the two groups rebelled against or came into conflict with family authority. The postmenarcheal girls indicated less interest in participation in games and activities requiring vigorous activity. These comparisons indicate a growing interest in adult activities, an increased independence, and an increased interest in the opposite sex, as a result of forces associated with the menarche.

Probably the most striking feature of development at this stage is the psychological differentiation of the sexes. Stolz, Jones, and Chaffey have described this as follows:

The girl feels a necessity to prove to herself and to the world that she is essentially feminine; the boy needs to demonstrate that he has those masculine qualities which will require others to recognize him as a man. This characteristic accounts for the girls' spending a large part of their leisure time in shopping and in personal adornment. This is the secret of the manicured nails, painted red to match vivid lips. This is why they must wave and curl their hair, and, having perfected the process, must pin into it ribbon bows, bits of lace, or flowers. This is the reason for the boy's urge to learn to drive a car and for his willingness to move heaven and earth to borrow or own one. Along with this development, also, we are told by our group that a girl to be popular must be modishly pretty, keep herself clean and neat, be a good mixer. A boy, on the other hand, must be aggressive and must excel at sports. He must have the ability to dance and to talk easily with girls, and in addition he must show that he can compete readily with

other boys; that he can achieve and master. This picture of adolescent development is often disturbing to adults, but it should be reassuring to know that, once the girl has arrived at the status in the group to which she has aspired, or has learned to adjust herself to a version of the universal feminine model which suits her own personality, she will be a happier person and a pleasanter one to teach or to have around the house. Likewise, once the boy feels that he is accepted as a man, he can go on with the important business of preparing himself for a job or for college. We have repeatedly noticed that those boys and girls who have acquired some understanding of their personal relations to others and have made a place for themselves in a mixed group, have become more stable and predictable.⁶

Intelligence and attitudes. Intellectual maturity, as an integral part of the total maturity of a growing child, is accompanied by pronounced changes in attitudes. As the child grows into adolescence, he becomes more discriminating in the choice of friends. At this time prejudices formed earlier as a product of home and neighborhood contacts become more generalized. Attitudes take on a fuller meaning and reveal an increased complexity. Many things of an abstract and nonpersonal nature become more significant and personal. Proof of a close relation between intelligence and the development of social attitudes and habits is demonstrated in studies of this problem.⁷ The *Furfey Developmental Age Test* was given to 26 boys, median age 11 years, and to 24 girls, median age 11 years, of superior intelligence. There was a considerable variation in the maturity shown for the different items. The highest maturity was revealed on the items concerned with choice of books to read, future vocations, and things to think about.

The effects of movies on attitudes. The various studies that have been made dealing with the influence of the motion picture on children's attitudes indicate that this form of entertainment may be a potent force in conditioning or reconditioning certain attitudes. These studies indicate that changes brought about in this way are not wholly temporary, but tend to persist.

As children approach adolescence, they become more conscious of characteristics regarded as distinctively feminine or, conversely, distinctively masculine. This new discrimination may be looked upon as one phase of their developing social consciousness, or social development, and Hoban noted that it was reflected in their rating of films

⁶ H. R. Stolz, M. C. Jones, and J. Chaffey: "The Junior-High-School Age," *University High School Journal*, 1937, 15, pp. 63-72.

⁷ R. L. Thorndike: "Performance of Gifted Children on Tests of Developmental Age," *Journal of Psychology*, 1940, 9, pp. 337-343.

involving the cultural status of men and women. He had pupils rate the film *The Truck Farmer* on the scale from 1.00 to 5.00, the highest rating being 1.00 and the lowest 5.00. In the fifth grade class, the boys gave the film an average rating of 1.37; the girls, an average rating of 1.36. The average rating given the film by the eighth grade boys was 1.54; the average by the girls, 1.61. The tenth and eleventh grade boys gave the film an average rating of 1.57; the girls gave it an average rating of 1.83. These differences may be accounted for by the growing awareness of boys and girls in things and activities relating to the cultural and social patterns of men and women. This film related to men's activities involving crating, shipping, farming, and the like. According to Hoban,⁸ when the film reveals activities common to both sexes, boys prefer that these activities be presented from the boy's point of view, whereas girls prefer that they be presented in terms of a girl's interests and attitudes. Also, in cases where the film shows machinery, industrial processes, educational and scientific procedures, and activities requiring stamina, strength, and endurance, all ordinarily associated with men, significant sex differences in responses are revealed.

Selection of chums. There is evidence of selectivity in friendships and attachments even during the preschool years. Boys are more likely to form attachments for boys; girls, for girls. The capacity to form friendships and the capacity or tendency to quarrel increases with age. Children tend to choose their chums from their own neighborhood and their own school grade. As age increases beyond the preschool period there is a tendency to select friends near one's own age and at the same level of development.⁹ Within these age groupings, selections are made on the basis of mental ability, physical make-up, and certain temperamental factors. Bright children tend to associate with bright children, and the dull with the dull. The physically large child more often chooses a child above average in physical development for his associate; the smaller child chooses someone his own size. The bright and large child tends to cross the age lines upward, whereas duller and smaller children tend to cross them downward. The choice of chums is in a large measure a result of the physical, mental, and temperamental make-up of individuals who are closely associated in school or who live

⁸ *Op. cit.*

⁹ J. E. Anderson (Chairman): *The Young Child in the Home: A Survey of Three Thousand American Families*. (Report of the committee on the infant and preschool child, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.) New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936.

in the same neighborhood. The influence of parents in such choices becomes more negligible as the child grows older and his choices reach beyond certain accidental factors that may be, in part, under the parents' control.

In one study, classmates' opinions of one another were collected by means of a verbal portrait-matching test on 350 children at the beginning and end of the junior high school.¹⁰ Scores were obtained on twenty personality characteristics for each child, such scores being determined by the number of times he is mentioned. By means of intercorrelations of traits at a single age level, trait patterns were determined. It was found that the patterns for girls undergo revolutionary changes in the age span from twelve to fifteen years; patterns for boys show only minor changes over this period. For the twelve-year-old girl, quiet, sedate, non-aggressive qualities are closely associated with friendliness, popularity, neatness, and beauty. For the twelve-year-old boy, skill and leadership in games, fearlessness, and some defiance of adult regulations are prestige-lending qualities; tidiness or marked conformity in classroom is regarded as a handicap. For girls at fifteen, trait constellations are more similar to those for boys, in that the more extroverted and aggressive conduct is approved. For boys at fifteen, tidiness becomes an asset and there is greater emphasis on characteristics defining personal acceptability than at the age of twelve. Social maturity and personal acceptability form a discrete, unrelated cluster for girls at age fifteen.

Social development during adolescence. With an increase in age the child enters into social situations of greater complexity. This requires not only a modification of existing attitudes, but also a flexibility for adjustment to varying conditions. Often the period of early adolescence is one of great flexibility, followed by an excessive definiteness, which surprises those most familiar with the child. This cocksureness of the adolescent results in part from his desire to attain greater prestige and increased attention. Positive, inflexible attitudes are one of the means for elevating the self and securing attention. In an attempt to generalize the changes occurring between twelve and fifteen, Tyron states:

During the period between ages twelve and fifteen, values for girls have undergone some revolutionary changes; values for boys have undergone

¹⁰ Caroline McCann Tyron: "Evaluations Placed on Personality Traits by Boys and Girls at Two Age Levels." (Paper read before the Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, September 9, 1938, Ohio State University.)

relatively minor changes, mainly in terms of slightly shifted emphases. For the twelve-year-old girl, quiet, sedate, non-aggressive qualities are associated with friendliness, likableness, good humor and attractive appearance. Behavior which conforms to the demands and regulations of the adult world is admired. Tomboyishness is tolerated. At the fifteen-year level, admiration for the demure, docile, rather prim, lady-like prototype has ceased. Instead, many of the criteria for the idealized boy such as extroversion, activity, and good sportsmanship are highly acceptable for the girl. The ability to organize games for parties involving both sexes and the capacity to keep such activities lively and entertaining is admired. In addition, the quality of being fascinating or glamorous to the other sex has become important, but is looked upon as relatively specific or unrelated to other desirable qualities. At the twelve-year level, the idealized boy is skillful and a leader in games; his daring and fearlessness extend beyond his social group to defiance of adult demands and regulations. Any characteristic which might be construed as feminine by one's peers, such as extreme tidiness, or marked conformity in the classroom, is regarded as a weakness. However, some personableness and certain kindly, likable qualities tend to be associated with the more highly prized masculine qualities. At fifteen years, prestige for the boy is still in a large measure determined by physical skill, aggressiveness, and fearlessness. Defiance of adult standards has lost emphasis; though still acceptable and rather amusing to them, it tends to be associated with immaturity. In addition, much greater emphasis is placed on personal acceptability, suggesting the effectiveness of rising heterosexual interests. In fact *Unkempt-Tidy*, related to this constellation, is the only trait among the twenty on which the boys completely reversed their evaluation.¹¹

In studying the sex differences revealed by these data, one is impressed by the lack of steadfastness to ideals revealed by the girls, as compared with the boys, over this relatively short period of three years. These data tend to support the theory that the behavior of the female of the species is characterized by expediency, design, irresoluteness, and caprice. A plausible explanation for the phenomenon, which appears early in the social development of boys and girls, is that social activities place a greater demand upon girls than upon boys for flexibility, capacity to readjust their ideals, and ability to reorient themselves to new goals.

With the development into adolescence, interests and activities, as we have noted, become related to clubs, fraternities, fashion, the spirit of the times, gangs, and the like. Thus, extracurricular activities of the types present in our high schools, in harmony with the interests of adolescents, are coming to be a more and more potent force in meeting

¹¹ C. M. Tyron: "Evaluations of Adolescent Personality by Adolescents," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1939, 4, pp. 77-78.

their needs. A good example is the "clubhouse" maintained for members of an adolescent study group at the University of California.¹² The differences revealed in the sexual maturity of boys and girls were reflected in their social interests. The clubhouse had little appeal for most of the boys in the seventh grade; their interests were rather in individual activities or in playground sports. At this same time, girls were playing dance music and practicing the latest steps with one another. By the latter part of the eighth grade, however, mixed dancing had become the favorite clubhouse activity, and certain other interests of a more individualistic nature were rapidly declining, giving way to activities involving a greater amount of social participation with members of the opposite sex.

There is a gradual growth in the socializing process as the child grows in his general personality pattern, owing to experiences in the home, the school, the playground, and other social agencies. Upon reaching the beginning of adolescence the child tends to become more objective in his thoughts and attitudes; his conversation becomes still more social in nature. Moreover, his conversation comes to have more contiguity, definite conversational trends develop, and thoughts are held over for longer periods of time; thus he has greater reasoning power and more verbal continence. It is only when this stage is reached, incidentally, that it becomes possible to develop personal ideals.

Social consciousness during adolescence. Cooley¹³ was one of the first of the modern sociological writers to emphasize that man is dependent upon his fellows in a large measure for his thoughts, emotions, and modes of behavior. This emphasis was formulated under the term *social consciousness*. According to Cooley and other social psychologists, the consciousness of any single individual is nothing more than the consciousness of the many social groups with which he has come in contact. If we consider the average adolescent girl in the junior year in high school, we will find an individual bound by certain group standards, ideals, and general attitudes. The home and playmates have given her lessons in loyalty, service, co-operation, and interest in others. School studies have brought her, through her imagination, into contact with peoples of other countries and with deeds of men of the past. She thus has a wider and deeper appreciation of direct experience. Her re-

¹² H. R. Stolz, M. C. Jones, and J. Chaffey: "The Junior-High-School Age," *University High School Journal*, 1937, 15, pp. 63-72.

¹³ C. H. Cooley: *Human Nature and the Social Order*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

ligion, her politics, her pride of family and state, and her respect for the opinion of others have been molded by her social group. However, the adolescent is constantly meeting new social groups, many of which have ideals and attitudes somewhat different from those previously met; and here, Cooley points out, conflicts are likely to develop, since the individual's standards as built up through contact with different social groups may not be harmonious. Thus the adolescent upon meeting such a situation is often referred to as "green" or "nutty," or by some other name which would indicate his failure to understand and thus enter into the behavior of the new social group.

The desire for conformity. The normal adolescent, though idealistic in his attitudes, is a slave to group conformity. His ardently poetic and religious interests are seldom carried over into everyday activities. If the group frowns upon noble ideals, he will tend to frown upon such ideals; if the group keeps late hours, he is bent upon keeping late hours; and if the group swears and uses slang, he will again follow its pattern of action. There is at this stage the keen desire to follow the herd and to avoid being marked as "different." This attitude of conformity stands out above almost everything else at this period of life.

It has already been suggested that discrepancies in rate of growth may be a source of psychological tension for the less mature individual. This tension will be reflected in his social attitudes and outlook. Also, the individual maturing early may be faced with various social problems. His peers, because of his physical size, will expect certain things of him, but, since he may not have had the social experiences concomitant with physical development, or since physiological maturity may lag behind skeletal growth, he may not be able to meet their expectations, and this failure may become an important source of psychological tension. Girls who mature early and boys who mature late will be considerably out of line with their associates in development. Problems of social conformity are more prevalent among these "misfits," and may become a source of tension and difficulty for them.

Leadership among adolescents. In the study of leadership, it is essential that we recognize the importance of individual variation, not merely in native or acquired intelligence, but in the whole range of physical, emotional, and social variability. Often a prevailing social status may provide opportunity for leadership otherwise not at hand. In another social dimension, physical force may be important. The control of others, in some types of activities, demands brute strength. For example, leadership in some forms of athletics will usually be found

among those superior in strength, motor co-ordination, and speed of reaction. It has been observed that where men have to impress other men in face-to-face contact, size and strength count for much in producing prestige and control. Social and emotional characteristics may be distinctly important in the development of adolescent leaders in social situations. It is apparent that with the divisions of life activities and the individual divergencies in life organization, the personality of leaders will vary in accordance with the situations in which they find themselves. Leadership in any field is marked by positive characteristics, such as strength, self-assertion, initiative, willingness to assume responsibility, and the like. Leadership is dynamic, even when it is formalized, as is likely to be the case where large groups are involved. However, leadership is a phase of the entire life organization of the individual, and cannot be explained in terms of a series of special habits or talents.

Family influences that create, on the one hand dominating, or on the other, submissive tendencies may play an important role in the development of leadership characteristics. However, a leader may develop from a family exerting repressive influences, if the boy or girl bears native impulses strong enough to provide a drive to offset or compensate for the sense of inferiority arising from this repression. All leadership, however, does not arise from an act of compensation. Families may be so organized as to provide experiences and conditions that will lead to the development of a personality with actual or potential leadership characteristics.

Seventy-one girls, comprising the Junior and Senior Classes of the Horace Mann High School for Girls, New York City, were used as subjects in a study designed to determine which of a large number of psychological traits, presumably associated with personality, are related to the ability to lead.¹⁴ The teachers of these girls were given lists of forty-six traits and asked to check for each girl the item that could be attributed to that particular girl. In addition, each girl indicated on a scale of ten the intensity of pleasant feeling she subjectively associated with every other girl of her class. Each teacher also indicated on a scale the relative amount of personality possessed by each girl. A definite relationship was found between personality and leadership. Adolescent girl leaders are pleasing to their contemporaries. Traits positively and significantly associated with leadership among these girls, in relative order, are: liveliness, wide interests, intelligence, good sportsmanship,

¹⁴ E. G. Fleming: "A Factor Analysis of the Personality of High School Leaders," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1935, 19, pp. 596-605.

originality, athletic prowess, cleverness, sense of humor, culture, and individuality.

Closely related to this study was one conducted by Reals¹⁵ of the graduating classes of eight high schools in Missouri, Oklahoma, and Illinois. He found that, "The pupil leaders had better school attendance and health records, possessed better general appearance, had had more broadening experiences, and participated and led in extramural activities to a greater extent than non-leaders."

Summary. With development during the adolescent years, pronounced changes are found in attitudes and social behavior. There is an expansion of attitudes into life activities beyond the school and the playground. This expansion is closely connected with the expanding interests of this period. The wider range of experiences brings with it an increased tolerance toward social habits and social conduct. Associated with these expanded interests and attitudes are certain basic desires, which become more intense at this stage. There is first the desire for *social approval*. Secondly, there is the desire for *affection*. Thirdly, there is the increased need and desire for *belongingness*. Fourthly, there is the need and desire for *security*. This last named desire is not limited at this period to the biological needs, satisfied during the early years by the home, but relates to a feeling of self-confidence in social relations.

We have noted adolescent interests in clubs, team games, and so forth, and that participation in the activities of the group is very prevalent during adolescence. If they have developed normally, adolescents will constantly seek the companionship of members of the opposite sex as well as of their own. Social qualities become quite pronounced in speech, conduct, and common motor expressions. In the development of a social being there must, of course, be contact with others, but some other elements are essential, such as: (1) some important activity in common, for example, a language, symbol, creed, or aim; (2) the effect of suggestion by the activities of others; (3) an acquaintance, unity, or some general interfeeling and intercommunication.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Look up several definitions of attitudes. How are they related to habit patterns? To social behavior?
2. As exemplified by your own experiences, what attitudes developed during childhood have tended to persist? How would you account for this?

¹⁵ H. Willis Reals: "Leadership in the High School," *The School Review*, 1938, 46, pp. 523-531.

3. Compare the attitudes of *sixth* grade and *ninth* grade pupils.
4. How is intelligence related to attitudes? Give an illustration of this.
5. Show how the change of attitudes is reflected in the extracurricular activities in the senior high school as contrasted with those of the junior high school period.
6. How are the attitudes of high school pupils related to leadership in high school? Illustrate this in the case of some high school leader of your acquaintance.

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VIII

Moral and Religious Development

Throughout history, nations, tribal groups, and families have argued and fought over what they regarded as the moral or ethical ways of behaving. Nations have set up rules for conducting warfare, and the nation which violates these rules is looked upon as a nation without morals. Conditions change, methods of warfare change, and the rules must be rewritten. A study of the history of laws devised by any state of the United States to regulate human conduct will show that enormous changes have taken place since the colonial period, when dueling was permitted, to the present time, when an individual is arraigned before the courts for threatening his neighbor. The attitude of the public has changed from time to time regarding such activities as drinking alcoholic beverages, smoking, swearing in public, dancing, swimming in public, and the like.

Not only do we find that attitudes have changed during the course of time, but studies of attitudes of people in different sections of a state or nation show wide variations. In the first place, there are differences between the strictly metropolitan attitude and the rural attitude toward behavior activities. The farm boy who plucks an apple or plum from the neighbor's orchard may be censored, but he will not be arraigned before a court judge as a juvenile delinquent, as would the city boy who plucked an apple from the fruit stand on the corner. Among certain groups there is no stigma attached to venereal infection, whereas among other groups the diseased individual is looked upon as a social outcast. Filth and dirt are accepted as part of the total way of living in some groups; in others they are regarded as an indication of disease and immorality. There are also wide variations in attitudes existing in connection with problems of boy-girl relationships. However, the widespread use of communication and transportation is doing much to bridge these differences.

What constitutes ethical or moral behavior? In harmony with the notion presented throughout the discussion of the development of ado-

lescents, it should be pointed out that moral conduct is not a compartmentalized phase of activity, which takes place unrelated to physical, mental, and emotional experiences. The aim of moral education is not so much to give knowledge of what is right and what is wrong, as it is to develop in the growing child or adolescent the desire and will to do the right. A person is moral to the degree that he behaves consistently and that his motives are rooted in inner controls for social good or are in harmony with the welfare of the group.¹

The younger the child, the more difficult it is to label certain behavior activities as moral and others as acts of behavior performed, without any special intent or purpose, because of habit patterns built up through practice. This fact may be illustrated by an example of a certain act of behavior performed by two boys. The one child may be unwilling to play with a toy of another because he has built habits, as a result of training by his parents, to play only with his own toys. The other child may be unwilling to play with the toy, too, not, however, because of a sort of blind habit-pattern formed, but because he has been taught that it would make another unhappy if he took his toy from him and played with it. In this connection it should be pointed out that moral and religious behavior grow gradually, thus resembling true friendship, social understanding, and social attitudes. In fact, the latter are vital elements in moral and religious development, and are important in the development of a child's religious concepts. Support for this view is found in one of the great religious precepts, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," for complete understanding and practice of this command can be attained only through ripened and guided experiences.

An ideal that has become more or less a part of the individual will be reflected in his attitudes and behavior. The ideal, when interrelated with attitudes and behavior, acts as an inner drive in controlling human behavior. An established attitude is a habit system built out of lesser habit systems into a hierarchy, in which generalizations are present. The boy who is taught to be courteous to his mother and has established this as an attitude rather than a stereotyped habit does not need to generalize so much when he faces his teacher. The child who has developed the attitude of truthfulness in his home will meet other social situations with an attitude of truthfulness.

Several problems of importance are encountered as we study the moral life of the adolescent: (1) What are the desirable attitudes which

¹ See the article by P. H. Landis: "Points of Stress in Adolescent Morality," *School and Society*, 1940, 51, pp. 612-613.

the school should strive to establish? (2) What specific habit patterns, when integrated, tend to produce such ideals and attitudes? (3) How can these specific habits best be acquired and integrated into a general attitude?

Moral and religious development. Positive character comes only from the child's own *desiring* and *willing*. *The very essence of moral development in the adolescent is desiring and willing in harmony with behavior patterns considered desirable by the group.* The first step in the process of developing a truly moral individual is that of encouraging initiative and curiosity in the child. So long as the adolescent is led to accept and follow blindly the dictates of someone older, just so long will he fail to develop genuine moral attitudes. The individual must recognize his own ability and nature, must be led to discover his weaknesses, and must understand himself as the cause of certain happenings.

The most important place in a list of environmental factors influencing moral behavior for most children is that of the home. From the period of their first perceptions they look first of all to their parents for guidance by precept and example. A child gets his first impressions in the home and these impressions are made during that period when the foundational habits and moral attitudes are being formed. Undoubtedly, a good home is the greatest asset, and a bad one the greatest liability. Moral and religious values will be found in concrete social relations of daily living in a growing and expanding life rather than in meaningless creeds or stories or emotional exhortations. "Children who have immoral surroundings, whose struggle to exist involves corrupt practices, whose whole horizon is dark with foreboding shadows cannot have healthy social attitudes."²

There is much evidence that Sunday school and classroom instruction, which have relied largely upon verbal teachings, have been ineffective in meeting the moral demands of modern life.³ Moral development, like the development of social habits and attitudes, will be most effective when it takes place in connection with situations arising naturally in the classroom or on the playground. The Sunday school can teach appreciation of one another and respect for the rights and feelings of others; but if this is done in a vacuum, and children see no relation between such teachings and problems which they meet on the street,

² E. J. Chave: *Personality Development in Children*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937, p. 270.

³ Hugh Hartshorne: *Character in Human Relations*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932.

at school and in the park, the teaching will be so much verbal babbling.⁴

Another essential in moral teachings, if they are to be effective, is the harmonious correlation of all agencies affecting the moral life of boys and girls. The concepts presented in the home, on the playground, in school, and at church are usually too unrelated to have any great functional significance. The program of the church is in so many cases too far divorced from the other interests of the child, and the materials presented are too archaic to have any meaning for him in connection with present-day living. There is evidence, however, of a change in the materials and methods of the church. Adolescents do not want the church to lose its significance as a place of worship and reverence, but they do want the church to aid them in solving some of their major problems. Some of these thoughts will be presented at a later point in this chapter. A survey of materials and methods used in Protestant religious education a number of years ago indicated that children were taught too much through the formal question-answer method, so widely used in our day schools, and that there was very little discussion of the bases for current concepts of God.⁵ The child's ideas of God are somewhat realistic and concrete in nature; children are interested in His physical being and place of abode. At this stage He may be thought of as a powerful man, like unto a king, who sits on a throne and wields much power. The child's ideas and questions become more involved as he grows intellectually; this is to be expected, and is an indication of religious growth. The concept having the most meaning and giving the greatest satisfaction at any particular stage of life is the one most acceptable to the individual at that stage.

During the earlier period of life the individual is neither moral nor immoral; he is to a large degree unmoral. Whatever his conduct may be, it is largely the result of simple forces that have played upon and thus conditioned his behavior during the earlier years of life. This is

⁴ H. Hartshorne and M. May: *Studies in Deceit*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928, p. 411; H. Hartshorne and M. May: *Studies in Service and Self-Control*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, p. 268. These studies are based upon results from 11,000 children 8 to 16 years of age. They show that there are no significant relationships existing between Sunday school attendance of these children tested and their willingness to cheat, give services to others, and co-operate with others. One should be careful in generalizing from this as to the basis for this lack of correlation; however, the association is interesting and should present a challenge.

⁵ A. H. MacLean: *The Idea of God in Protestant Religious Education*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930.

not so true of later adolescence, for now the period of habitual morality has closed. Whatever his actions may be, we are certain that the adolescent is thinking and reacting to various situations in terms of ideals which are being established as a unified part of his personality. Then it is not so strange that he turns part of his newly acquired abilities and interests toward problems more far-reaching, involving common ideals, and pertaining to conduct.

Religion during adolescence. Various attempts have been made to relate the religious activities of man to instinctive tendencies. The religious activities so universally present have apparently developed out of a medley of impulses, such as fear, assertion, sex, and the developed desires and interests of the individual. These impulses, some of which are outgrowths of native impulses, become integrated as drives in the intellectual and social habits of man.

The average adolescent today, when confronted with the popular question, "What is religion?" may give any number of strange and incoherent answers. There is little likelihood that any two young people will give an identical definition. Strange though it may seem, this is to be expected. Religion goes beyond a mere definition to be mechanically learned and carried from generation to generation. We find, however, that there are certain fundamental principles and concepts upon which the religious experience of the adolescent is based.

Studies have been made of the religious development of adolescents from diaries, letters, and poems which adolescents have produced; and these together with results from questionnaires have given valuable materials relative to the development of the religious self.⁶ Little can be learned from a study of the religion of childhood, as such, since felt and understood religious experiences do not ordinarily appear until puberty. The religious community and the temperament of the individual determine whether the development shall be continuous or catastrophic and leading to conversion. Factors such as sex, nature, and love influence religious development but it cannot be said that the development is exclusively determined by them. Some of these forms affecting the religious nature of adolescents are given special consideration in this chapter.

Comparatively little is known about the adolescence of Christ. According to the description presented in the New Testament, Jesus ex-

⁶ For a study of religious development from diaries, letters, and so forth, see O. Kupky: *The Religious Development of Adolescents*. (Tr. William Clark Trow.) New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.

perienced a very early and definite emergence into what we call adolescent independence. At the age of twelve, Christ went with his parents to one of the Jewish festivals at Jerusalem. The account states that He remained behind, engaged in a discussion with the religious teachers in the temple, while His parents assumed He was following with the other children.

This description of the experience of Jesus tarrying behind to discuss religion with the temple teachers is an illustration of how early the mind of youth may turn to non-material phases (perhaps some philosophies) of life. Youth is confronted with the problem of making the transition from the religion of childhood to that of his elders, which is to become a personal possession, an internal experience. To the child, God is away off somewhere; to the developing adolescent, He becomes an internal presence.

In one investigation a group of girls between the ages of 15 and 17 were questioned as to when and where they first experienced a feeling of reverence.⁷ The meaning of reverence was made clear to them before they were presented with this assignment. During this period the project was so developed that the girls freely gave this information and recognized that such experiences did not need to relate to a certain formal religious creed or program. Of the 148 girls questioned, 22 stated that they had never had any emotional experience that could be called "reverence"; 68 girls stated that such feelings arose at a time when they suddenly came to realize the beauty and wonder of nature; only 31 girls, or 21 per cent, reported their first feeling of reverence or awe to be connected with some religious observance. Some of the girls expressed reverence toward some person they had known—in some cases this approached what is usually termed pity—while others reported reverence toward special types of music or some masterpiece of art. The results suggest that reverence tends to be aroused toward anything that is impressive, beautiful, or extremely thought- and emotion-provoking.

The period of conversion. Turning to the transition from childhood to adolescence, one finds some important religious significances. The general development of the child is complicated in nature and is conditioned by many factors, among which are the development of the original tendencies charged with their incoherent energies, and also a constantly growing stock of energy seeking an outlet. The child develops in an environment which perpetually provides material for the

⁷ O. Kupky: *op. cit.*

formation of complexes of all sorts that are more or less an outgrowth of original tendencies. At the same time the environment establishes a mental conflict between purely egoistic impulses and sex on the one hand, and various growing social habits on the other.

The adolescent period is characterized by various physiological changes which have very definite influences on the individual's psychic development. This period has already been described as one in which there is manifested a marked expression of self-consciousness, as well as a marked development of social consciousness. This development of a social consciousness, during which the child comes to be looked upon as a social rather than as an egocentric individual, tends to follow naturally the realization of life's purposes and the consciousness of perfected physical and mental powers. "In cases of normal development the religious teaching and impressions of childhood now come to a head, and are invested with a reality and significance they formerly lacked."⁸

This period often represents a crisis—a development from the earlier years in which religious ideas are only half understood and are concrete in nature to a natural and healthy growth into habit patterns involving a more definite religious awakening. This growth, if the individual has been supplied with religious surroundings of a wholesome but non-dominant type, will be gradual and become more intensified in feeling and more vital and real in its issues and meaning. This is a process of religious growth by education, and is to be preferred to religious development of a "storm and stress" nature. The latter type of religious experience is accompanied by vivid emotional experiences. The individual has had painted for him a dramatic picture filled with emotional stimuli, and this picture tends to establish morbid fears and extreme shame, as well as a feeling of guilt. A feeling or sense of sin may be established in the individual who has actually lived a normal healthy life, and this sense of sin is often connected with sex development. The individual is given distorted ideas of the relation between the self and God, and comes to feel that he is an outcast and has fallen wholly from the path set by God. Here we find a real contrast with the former case, in which the child has always been given a wholesome yet non-dogmatic view of life and God. Young folk who have developed balanced habit systems under proper guidance will often confess that they never have realized that they

⁸ W. H. Selbie: *The Psychology of Religion*, p. 176. London: Oxford University Press, 1926.

were true sinners, and see no reason why they should either resort to trembling penitence in order to be saved from their past wrongdoings or give way to morbid fears.

Not always do we have presented a picture of the convert who has passed through a storm and stress period. If the individual is awakened and stimulated to further thought and activity with a positive emphasis on new loyalties, the group welfare, and proper habits of conduct, there will likely be a more healthy and balanced growth in the social, educational, and religious life. It is when the negative emphasis, in which the sins of the past are recounted and the natural sex and the various social tendencies are criticized so vehemently, that we find morbid fears developing and becoming prime factors in the development of emotional instability and perversions. Adolescent boys and girls are susceptible to religious appeals. Statistics of conversion as well as various testimonies, however, show that girls are more affected by the emotional appeal in religious life whereas boys are more attracted by codes of honor, ethical sanction, and group activity.

Factors related to adolescent beliefs. It has already been suggested that the preadolescent has accepted quite completely the beliefs he has been taught in the home and by religious teachers. However, as early as twelve or thirteen some degree of doubt and oftentimes opposition begins to be manifested, as is revealed in Table IX. Certain investigators have sought to determine the factors related to the development of religious beliefs. MacLean found a negative correlation between chronological age and accepted beliefs.⁹ The revolt of girls against accepted beliefs comes at a later age than that of boys and is found less frequently and is probably not as inclusive. The general relationship between the educational and economic level of the home and the acceptance of definite religious beliefs is negative, as is also that between intelligence and acceptance of beliefs.

The question might be raised: What are some of the personality qualities of those adolescents who accept and those who reject traditional religious beliefs? This was the problem with which Howells was concerned.¹⁰ Comparisons of personality qualities were made be-

⁹ A. H. MacLean: "The Idea of God in Protestant Religious Education," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education*, No. 410, 1930. Also see Luella Cole: *Psychology of Adolescence*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936, pp. 171-173.

¹⁰ T. H. Howells: "Comparative Study of Those Who Accept as Against Those

TABLE IX

PER CENT OF 13-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN MARKING THE STATEMENTS TRUE (N-646) (*After MacLean*)¹¹

	<i>Per Cent</i>
1. Religion consists of obeying God's laws	70
2. God is simply imagination	21
3. We learn about God through dreams and visions	28
4. God made us, the animals, the stars, and the flowers, and everything in the world	82
5. God knows everything we say or do	78
6. God cares what we do	89
7. God has a good reason for what happens to us, even when we cannot understand it	92
8. God protects from harm those who trust him	70
9. God cares whether we repent of our sins or not	82
10. God hears and answers our prayers	85
11. True prayer consists of thinking of the wonderful ways of God in the world	66
12. It is possible to get things by prayer	31
13. The soul lives on after the body dies	71

tween thirty-six students who completely rejected traditional religious beliefs and thirty-four who completely accepted such beliefs. The groups were tested for physical, intellectual, and emotional differences. There was a pronounced difference in intelligence, in that those who rejected religious authority averaged at the seventy-third percentile while those who accepted averaged at the forty-eighth. There were no noticeable differences in physical qualities; but in the case of emotional disturbances there were three times as many intensely emotional experiences reported by those who accepted such beliefs as by those rejecting them. Those accepting the beliefs appeared to be much more suggestible than those rejecting these beliefs.

All religions seem to have as their central idea a belief in a Supreme Being. For example, Christianity, with which most Americans are closely identified or at least familiar, teaches belief in God as the Heavenly Father of mankind. Religious leaders have held throughout the ages that certain ethical or moral values attend one's concept

Who Reject Religious Authority," *University of Iowa Studies in Character*, 1928, 2, No. 2.

¹¹ This material is used by permission of the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.

of God. Thus, the question arises: What relationship exists between one's conception of God and one's behavior? In order to throw some light on this problem, Mathias constructed the *Idea-of-God Test*. The purpose of the test as expressed by Mathias was "(1) to draw out an individual's social attitudes concerning God, and (2) to crystallize the person's viewpoint of God from the angle of available information regarding the universe and its mysteries, as we conceive them."¹²

Correlations were obtained between sixteen factors, referred to as background factors, and composite Idea-of-God scores. Correlations were positive but low, the highest being between moral knowledge and scores on the Idea-of-God test. Correlations were also obtained between fifteen factors, referred to as behavior patterns, and composite Idea-of-God scores. All correlations were again positive but low, the three highest having as second members, high motives (.28), self-functioning (.25), and school deportment (.21). It appears, therefore, that certain background factors, as well as personal factors, tend to be associated with high composite concepts of God. However, this does not mean that one is the cause of the other; but rather "that what have been designated as desirable concepts of God tend to be found in those pupils who come from homes with church affiliation and who have a good cultural background, and in individuals of high intelligence, moral knowledge, and social attitudes."¹³ Also, the results support the notion that high motives in conduct, independent action, and church and club participation tend to be associated with desirable concepts of God.

Adolescent doubts. Many adolescents, especially those whose early training has been dogmatic in nature, become very skeptical of all problems not concrete and not specific in nature. As the growing, developing youth increases his realm of knowledge and develops better habits of thinking, he is led to question many of the things he had formerly accepted uncritically. The youth coming into contact with more of life's realities assumes more mental and moral independence. He is thrown upon his own initiative, and required to make decisions for himself. He therefore develops habits of thinking and analyzing on the basis of fact. He comes to learn that many of the things he had been taught earlier and had accepted uncritically are not in harmony with the facts presented at school or in his everyday readings. Early

¹² Willis D. Mathias: "Ideas of God and Conduct," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education*, No. 874, 1943, p. 43.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

faith, so firmly entrenched, thus receives a serious setback when the child learns that the answers to many of his questions are not based upon almost obvious facts.

This critical attitude develops according to the developmental viewpoint as presented throughout this study. It has its beginning with the first observations of the child that the things he has been taught are not wholly in harmony with facts observable in later life. New and broader experiences often aid in destroying faith in other early teachings. This destruction of early faith continues with the acquirement of certain scientific principles which are out of harmony with early learning. Thus the development of doubt continues and finds further support in the behavior and attitude assumed by those who have a powerfully suggestive influence over the life of the subject.

Functional peculiarities of beliefs and attitudes are at this stage of life quite prevalent. The adolescent may desire to stay away from church for some social reason; therefore he comes to doubt the value of the work of the church as well as the general honesty of the leaders. This doubting may serve further to effect the satisfaction of a desire that has been blooming, or justify some need already existing. During adolescence there are usually several elements in the situation that combine to augment doubts extremely.

How should doubts be treated? In the first place, it should be recognized that doubting is not confined to the religious sphere of life. Neither should anyone be misled into believing that doubting is a universal trait and therefore similar in nature to an instinctive form of behavior. The adolescent does not need a dogma or creed to anchor on: his need is to find himself, and to interrelate in his own thinking the processes of the universe with the general plan of life. An anchorage in open sea in a storm is analogous to the type of treatment usually given the individual during this stage. But the first essential in helping the individual to find himself is intellectual honesty. Of course, facts and knowledge should be gathered in harmony with individual needs and interests.

*Youth and the church.*¹⁴ To arrive at sound conclusions about the

¹⁴ Howard M. Bell: *Youth Tell Their Story*. Maryland was chosen for a study of youth because it was believed that it presented in miniature form the major economic and social characteristics of the nation. The study is a forceful analysis of what young people are doing and thinking based on personal interviews with more than 13,500 young people between the ages of 16 and 24. Chapter VI gives some very interesting and valuable information dealing with youth and the

part the church is playing in the lives of young people is not a simple task. The obvious difficulties are aggravated by the fact that it is impossible to isolate the church as a single factor in the experience and background of youth. It is quite possible, of course, to discover the conditions under which the youth of different church groups are living, and also to find out whatever differences may exist in the ways that they react to current problems. However, to presume to measure the extent to which these differences are due to dissimilarities in religious backgrounds and affiliations is not only unscientific but highly dangerous.

It is one thing to suggest that certain variations in concepts and attitudes are associated with such religious groups as Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, but quite another thing to insist that these dissimilarities are directly the result of different church affiliations. For example, almost 20 per cent of the youth from Protestant homes were Negroes. Thus, what may appear on the surface to be a distinctly religious factor turns out to be influenced by the factor of race. Of 35 per cent of the youth from Catholic homes, either the mother or the father, or both, were foreign-born. This means, of course, that ethnic as well as religious backgrounds contribute to whatever differences may appear in the Catholic and non-Catholic groups. Similarly the attitudes and the conditions of the Jewish youth are, without doubt, considerably influenced by the facts that 84 per cent of their parents were foreign born (more than half of them came from Russia) and that their median grade attainment was about two grades higher than that of the youth in any other religious group.

Thus it is that differences which, on the surface, may appear to be basically religious in character are, in fact, profoundly affected by such factors as race, nationality, locality of residence, and educational attainment.

It is of considerable interest to note the extent to which youth from homes of different religious backgrounds tend to accept the religion of their parents. Over four-fifths (81.1 per cent) of the youth with some church affiliation had adopted the faith (Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish) of both their parents. When both parents had church affiliations, but when there was a difference between the persuasion of the father and mother, there was more than twice as strong a tendency

church. Most of the materials presented under this topic are taken from the Maryland survey.

to accept the faith of the mother. The proportion of youth who had adopted a belief different from that of either parent is quite negligible: 4.2 per cent for the Catholic youth, 2 per cent for the Protestants, and none for the Jewish.

Like many other activities, the matter of church membership seems closely related to the population density of the various areas. Table X

TABLE X
CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF YOUTH ACCORDING TO LOCALITY
OF RESIDENCE

LOCALITY OF RESIDENCE	PERCENTAGE WHO CONSIDER THEMSELVES MEMBERS
Farm.....	59.2
Village.....	64.7
Town.....	74.4
City.....	80.2

indicates that church membership becomes more general as the population of the area increases. This can hardly be taken to mean that there is something peculiarly devout about young people living in cities, and something peculiarly otherwise about youth living on farms. The smaller proportion of farm youth who said they were members of some church may quite possibly reflect the comparative inaccessibility of churches in certain rural areas. Moreover, the 80.2 per cent of church membership of youth living in cities also reflects the fact that most of the religious group with the highest degree of membership, that is, the Catholics, were city youths.

The *Fortune* survey of 1942¹⁵ shows that there is very little agnosticism among high school students. Only 6.6 per cent of the students stated that they did not believe in a God who punished after death, nor in life after death. Furthermore, these young people were much better churchgoers than their elders. The results at that time may have been beneficially affected by the World War then in progress. These data are presented in Table XI.

Adolescent religious worries. Some adolescents develop a peculiar state of hyperconscientiousness. Conscience, instead of being a friendly adviser, turns into an inquisitive persecutor and seems to devote itself to the task of producing an increasing sense of guilt, aggravated by

¹⁵ "Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, December 1942, p. 18.

TABLE XI

RESPONSE OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TO THE QUESTION
 "ABOUT HOW OFTEN DO YOU GO TO CHURCH AS A
 USUAL THING?"

	ALL STUDENTS	BOYS	GIRLS	FRESHMEN	SENIORS
Weekly or more often	56.5%	49.6%	63.5%	61.4%	48.8%
Two or three times a month . .	22.0	24.3	19.5	19.1	24.6
Monthly	7.8	9.2	6.4	5.7	10.1
Less often than monthly	8.6	10.0	7.3	8.4	10.8
Do not attend church	5.1	6.9	3.3	5.4	5.7

serious doubts. Youth is naturally skeptical, and sometimes these doubts become very disturbing. The apparent conflict between science and religion serves as a storm center around which this turmoil rages. In some cases the inner disturbance follows a spectacular conversion which, the youth finds, has failed to solve all his psychic, social, and religious difficulties; in other cases this confusion is produced by the conflict between sexual urges and high spiritual ideals.

The introverted youth naturally tends toward introspection, and introspection plus overmuch religious thinking often leads to psychic depression or even to melancholy, a condition that demands the closest attention of parents, teachers, and psychiatrists. Adolescent melancholy should never be neglected on the assumption that this condition will readjust itself; it often does, but its inherent threat is too great to be taken lightly.

When adolescents become introspective in a religious sense, they should be encouraged immediately to seek help from a religious adviser. Of all the forms of spying on one's self, that of a religious nature is the most dangerous. Introspection can lead a young man to imagine not only that he has some grave physical disease but that he is one of the most wretched sinners on the face of the earth. A youth in this dilemma should be put on a proper program of physical hygiene and mental medicine, with suitable guidance in the acquisition of ideals and a more harmonious philosophy of life.

Furthermore, the church has an important function in connection with the sex life and function of adolescents. There has been a gross misinterpretation of the sex drive by many who are probably well-intentioned religious enthusiasts. The sex drive has been looked upon

as sinful and a reason for shame, so that many individuals have considered themselves possessed by evil spirits or by unwholesome ideas when the drive appeared. Margaret Mead's studies of the Samoans, a group somewhere between primitive culture and the culture of our present Western civilization, show that when this drive is dealt with more frankly and with less hypocrisy, there are fewer conflicts and also that adolescents do not have to pass through the trying time of life referred to as the "storm and stress" period. If a storm appears, it is because they have not been prepared for a natural manifestation of the sex drive. There is evidence that the youth of today is facing this in a much franker manner than ever before in our civilization. Some of these thoughts as they relate to the problems of adult love, courtship, and marriage will be discussed in the last chapter of this study of adolescents.

By adopting a more enlightened approach to this problem, adolescents will be better prepared for a rational understanding and control of the natural emergence of the sex drive. Reassurance is needed that the various phases through which the boy or the girl as an individual is passing are normal and common to everyone.¹⁶ Guidance and counsel based upon such frank assurance will be far more effective than that too often found in denials and misrepresentations.

Ideals and the adolescent. The integration of behavior units into a general schema or pattern, the development therefrom of a potent force that acts as a drive or tendency toward further activity, has been referred to in connection with habits as drives to behavior. Now it is in this integration of the various units of behavior that ideals arise and thus come to control the behavior of the individual. During the early days of life, ideals are passing through an elementary formative stage in harmony with the child's innate tendencies and the environmental forces playing upon him. The individual's experiences are then rather narrow and his ideals very elementary, involving mainly the welfare and pleasure of the ego. (The socializing process at work on the playground, in club activity, in social life, and so forth, has already been discussed in this connection.) But as we look upon the socializing process as a process of growth and development, so must we consider the growth of ideals similarly, especially during this expanding and developing period of life from 12 to 21. Ideals are thus dependent upon maturation and experience, and may be narrow or, in harmony with a wider and fuller life, broad.

¹⁶ "Sex Education: A Re-evaluation," *Child Study*, 1930, 16, pp. 83-97.

Religious education. Religion, if properly taught, certainly would help young people to grasp the meaning and values of life. Too frequently the truth that our religion is evolutionary, that religion is still in the making, is not made clear to youth. The real assault upon religious opinions is not made by scholars but by the daily life and experience of the common people. Contact with any life situation tends to develop new interpretations of so-called spiritual matters. New standards of living mean the visualization of new meanings in religion.

The effectiveness of the child's religious training is contingent upon the application of the important facts and principles of learning in all religious teaching in home, school, or church. To say there is no need for religion in an age of science is a distortion of the aspirations, desires, and values of man. Children need to develop a concept of the purpose of life and faith in worthy and desirable human relations. There is a need today, because of our dependency on each other and increased group activities, for a religion that will transform empty words and dogma into a fuller realization of spiritual values through adventurous living and experiences. Tuttle pointed this out when he stated: "To the degree that religious training emphasizes the cultivation and application of values, rather than the acceptance of dogma, the full potentialities of religion as a motivating force will be realized."¹⁷

The following set of standards by Hartshorne and Lotz¹⁸ is an excellent formulation of criteria for evaluating religious instruction in weekday schools and Sunday schools:

1. The pupils show increasing respect for one another and for those with whom their activities bring them into real or imaginative contact.
2. The pupils are in real situations and are responding to the situations rather than to the teacher, for it is the function of the teacher to bring the pupils into vital relationship with these situations.
3. The situation, while continuous with out-of-school situations, is simplified so as to make possible the maximum freedom of the child without confusion or disaster.
4. The pupils view the situation objectively rather than through their prejudices and emotions.
5. Those phases of experience which are primarily acts of appreciation are so handled as to permit the children to make their own evaluations and to compare their judgments with those of others.

¹⁷ H. S. Tuttle: "Religion as Motivation," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1942, 15, pp. 255-264.

¹⁸ *Case Studies of Present-Day Religious Teaching*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 8-9.

6. In facing new situations, the process of thought is such as to lead to valid conclusions. That is, the scientific method is used.

7. In facing new situations, the pupils make use of relevant past experience, so far as they can gain access to it.

8. Problem solving includes foresight of consequences of various possible procedures and a choice of one or the other in terms of their believed harmony with the general direction of the life unit or phase of which it is a part. When issues are critical such evaluation takes the form of worship, and is in terms of the value of persons.

9. The conclusion of a project is the occasion of measurement of progress in skill and appraisal of results in terms of objectives. This latter may involve worship when the results are of sufficient importance.

10. The pupils' responsibility includes the experiencing of the results of their experiments as well as the planning of them.

Hartshorne¹⁹ has pointed out the need for creative religious activities resulting from an educational process in which the individual is a participant in the development of religious concepts. Since religious growth is a function of culture, he points out further, it should reflect the culture of our society. Our culture is one of socialization and participation, but religion is too often one of authoritative control over would-be passive subjects.

Summary. The essence of moral development is conceived of in relation to individual initiative and will power in desirable modes of behavior. Morality is identified with conduct that procures social approval. Religion and morals have often been used by the layman as synonymous terms, but religion is more systematized and focalized. Both are developed by the individual through the process of individual growth. The mental and social development of adolescents are closely related to a religious awakening and the growth of moral concepts. During adolescence conversion reaches its peak, only to be followed in postadolescent years by doubts. Doubting grows out of wider social and intellectual contacts, and in this the adolescent needs sane, reliable, and honest guidance.

Religion, to most adolescents, is but an extension of their social life. They approach it through problems of ethics and morality and to the vast majority it never becomes a separate domain of feeling, a higher realm of living. But this is not always true; many a youth in his teens has ascended to heights of religious experience unsurpassed even by adults. When ideals are established and integrated in these religious

¹⁹ H. Hartshorne: "Growth in Religion," *Religious Education*, 1939, 34, pp. 143-151.

experiences, there is an increased permanency in the dynamic force in operation. Ideals represent an integration of behavior units into a larger pattern, which comes to be a vital force in determining conduct. With the fuller mental and social growth and the development of ideals come habits of self-control, which form the essential element in the development of a moral nature.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Analyze the causes of adolescent doubting suggested in this chapter. Have you seen evidences that these exist among your acquaintances? What changes in your own attitudes have occurred as a result of some of these factors?

2. How does your observation of experience with adolescents' morals of today compare with the general discussions presented in this chapter? Why then is the statement so often made that *the youths of today are immoral or lax in their behavior*?

3. What evidence can you present from your own life or the life of some acquaintance that confirms the notion that the limited conceptions commonly presented during childhood later become serious obstacles to continued faith?

4. Write out a frank and accurate account of the genesis and development of your own religious attitudes from childhood up to the present time.

5. Is it conceivable that religion will ever be stripped of its contrasting and varying creeds and points of view? Would this be desirable? Give reasons for your answer.

6. Consult available statistics concerning the modal age of conversion. What is the significance of this?

7. What are the dangers inherent in the emotional stress sometimes associated with religious conversions? What are some features that would characterize a desirable form of confirmation?

8. Outline a program of religious education that would be integrated into the life activities of adolescent boys and girls and harmonize with the work of the home and school.

9. Just what has religion meant to you? What are the functions of religion? Is there evidence that due to the developments in the fields of science there is little need for religion today?

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PART III

ADJUSTMENTS OF ADOLESCENTS

IX

The Adolescent at Home

"All happy families resemble one another; every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way."

Count Lyof Nikolayevitch Tolstoi

Throughout the vital period of adolescence, there is a phenomenal growth which alters the physiological pattern, the anatomical pattern, and the psychological pattern, thus transforming the child into an adult. The nature and extent of this growth are described in earlier chapters. Simultaneously, as the individual approaches maturity, there arises an urge, sometimes of relentless physical strength, sometimes characterized by increased and enlarged mental vigor, and still more often of a socialized nature relating to ambitions and ideals. This urge is seeking expression, uninhibited by the home domination so characteristic of the period of childhood. There is an urge to break away from the semipassive family relationship of childhood to a more independent way of doing and thinking and thus directing one's own plans and destiny toward an adult life.¹ This detachment from family ties does not necessarily involve a physical separation; rather, it connotes an emotional severance—in other words, the casting off of those bonds which would hinder the individual from achieving the things he is striving for and wants independently in adult life. Such a process has been referred to as *emancipation from family domination*, or *psychological weaning*, or by a third term, *achieving independence*.

The in-between person is in a naturally conflicting situation. The

¹ J. M. Murray: "The Conscience During Adolescence," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1938.

unwillingness of parents to recognize that their child is growing up and maturing at a rapid pace, associated with the latter's growing independence at this period of life, complicates the whole problem. On the one hand, there is the adolescent's desire to break loose from the sheltering walls of the home and to get rid of specific restrictions; on the other, there is his desire for the protection and security the home affords. He cherishes adventure, and looks forward to excitement; however, as problems arise, he has a felt need for protection and security. The confused situation resulting from these diametrically opposed drives oftentimes reveals the adolescent in dual roles.

Importance of early home influences. The influence of the home on adolescent behavior is almost synonymous with that of habits formed during the preschool years—the period in which the home's influence is greatest. Frequently, habits are formed in later years that may not seem to be of the same lineage as habits acquired earlier; but the influence of the latter must not be underestimated. Habits are built upon habits, and the earlier habits are likely to give something of their form to the later. This tendency is well illustrated by Rosenheim's descriptive analysis of a thirteen-year-old boy who lacked parental affection during the early years of his life;² as a result, he had never learned to show affection for others, and was unable to get along with other boys and girls of his age. Remedial treatment and guidance produced some good results; in spite of this, however, the influence of the early home environment remained constant and more or less pervasive. This influence was especially noticeable in the boy's lack of social responsiveness, and thus in his failure to establish desirable social relations with others; he also lacked steadfastness to ideals and good behavior standards.

The personal needs of the individual will determine the ideals he will accept as a part of his own nature. It was pointed out in the summary of Chapter VIII that the adolescent has certain felt needs or desires, among which are: (a) need for affection, (b) need for belongingness, (c) need for social approval, and (d) need for security. The nature of the adolescent will be determined in a large measure by the extent and manner of the satisfaction of these needs. The case of a somewhat introverted fourteen-year-old girl from the junior high school of Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, shows the influence of a desirable home situation in the development of attitudes and inter-

² F. Rosenheim: "Character Structure of a Rejected Child," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1942, 12, pp. 486-495.

ests. The case D, described by Anderson, is in the ninth grade and has an IQ of 122.

This girl was identified by her classmates as being someone who prefers to do things by herself and doesn't care to have a lot of people around all the time, who is happy and interested in whatever she is doing, who is co-operative and agreeable, who volunteers to recite in class and always remains sure of herself, who never causes the teacher any trouble, who never tries to avoid responsibility, who is able to work quietly, who never loses her temper, who doesn't take chances for fear she will be wrong, who is shy and never has anything to say around strangers.

D appeared (upon interview) to be a girl of unusual poise. She talked easily and well, smiled frequently and seemed self-assured.

D's major interest is music. She prefers reading and her piano lessons to active games. She doesn't like to dance, and her best friends are admired because they are 'studious,' 'serious,' and 'don't go out much.' She feels that she has a good many friends but would like to have more. Her parents approve of all her friends and encourage her to bring them home. She is allowed to go out in the evenings on special occasions.

D likes school 'in a good many ways' but feels that she is usually required to do too much homework. She was elected president of her class last year and is given a good deal of responsibility this year for class activities.

D's family relationships seem to be harmonious. Although she was scolded or her privileges restricted after misbehavior when she was a small child, it has been a long time since anything like that happened, as she doesn't do things now that displease her parents. She prefers her mother to her father because her mother is 'around most of the time' and is 'kinder,' gives her money when she requests it. D has three older sisters at home; they quite often play cards or do other things with the mother. Several years ago the whole family went to Europe. Sometimes D feels that her sisters try to 'tell her what to do' a little too much but her mother usually intervenes and straightens things out since 'she can see both sides.' On the whole she feels that her parents do not have too many restrictions and are usually right in the standards they set forth.³

Parental Attitudes. Some parents are prone either to "baby" their children or to dominate them with an iron hand. There is the case of Henry, which came to the writer's attention several years ago.

The boy's father was an attorney of prominence in the city. The mother had evidently come from a good family, but one puritanical in ideas and attitudes. The boy was an only child. He was a likeable lad and of more

³ John Peyton Anderson: "A Study of the Relationships between Certain Aspects of Parental Behavior and Attitudes and the Behavior of Junior High School Pupils," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education*, No. 809, 1940.

than average intelligence. During grammar school years he acquired the average number of acquaintances and friends. He played with those friends whenever he was permitted. But those times were all too few. He had to help with the housework, mow the lawn, weed the garden, and do any other odd jobs that could be found about the home. He completed grammar school at an average age and entered high school. He was developing as a normal boy. He was gaining in weight and stature. His father was a well-built man and it seemed that the son would be the same. Naturally, as he grew larger, he wanted to engage in the same sports and interests as other boys of his age. But it seemed that *mother always had something else for him to do*. Conflicts arose. If he could not get leisure in leisure time, he would take it from the hour of duty. He found another boy who was having the same or similar difficulty. That was the beginning of truancy which ended in expulsion from high school. The expulsion put him at odds with his father, and this led to his staying out late at night and associating with questionable companions in questionable places. Upon learning of this behavior, the father ordered the boy out of the home. A few days later the circus came to town and the boy joined the circus. He stayed with the circus for almost a year and then was arrested and found guilty of stealing.

One of the problems with which many parents have been much concerned is the protection of growing boys and girls from undesirable literature and lurid stories. Certainly, parents won't be able to protect their children from the undesirable side of life forever, by a constant *Verboten*. Perhaps a better approach would be one based upon positive guidance, in an endeavor to aid adolescents to develop discrimination. Say to the boy about to read some book considered undesirable, "Go ahead and read it, if that is what you wish to do. Remember, however, that there are more accurate books on the subject if you are looking for facts. There are better books on many subjects if you are merely looking for something interesting to read." The chief characteristics of parental attitudes, as compared to those of mental hygienists as a group, are, according to Stogdill:

- a. Greater insistence on moral taboos.
- b. Greater insistence on parental authority.
- c. Greater insistence on adherence to group standards and social customs.
- d. Relative indifference to the effect that such insistence may have upon the child's emotional and mental adjustment to life.

Further attempt to analyze the significance of these findings indicates that the parental attitude is complicated by a number of very obscure elements. Two of the most fundamental elements in determining the parental attitude seem to be:

- a. The parent's estimate as to the effect of the child's behavior upon his own standing in the community.
- b. The attempt of the parent to preserve his own feeling of self-sufficiency,

and his feeling of confidence in the security of his own accepted rationalizations by preventing the child from doing anything that might reveal the unsoundness of these rationalizations.⁴

Parent preference. There is some evidence that the theories set forth by the psychoanalysts relative to the mother fixation on the part of children are true. In the study reported by Simpson⁵ of the parent preferences of young children, 500 carefully selected children (fifty boys and fifty girls in each of five age groups) were given a battery of tests designed to measure parent preferences. The children were asked about some pictures, were told stories, and asked about their dreams. The method for conducting this work was sufficiently standardized to make the results valid. Both sexes showed more mother preference than father preference in all groups except for the five-year-old girls. There was an increased percentage of mother preferences with increased age, and in all cases the mother appeared more frequently in the dreams reported. This preference for the mother is further borne out by the study of Meltzer.⁶ The free association interview technique was used in this study. The reactions of the boys appeared to be more unusual and complex in nature, indicating that a greater range of factors and conditions affect their preferences. It is reasonable to expect that the parent who is in a position to administer to the needs of the child will be at an advantage in winning his love to the greatest extent.

In connection with the White House Conference (1930) Burgess⁷ conducted a study of the adolescent in the family. This investigation reached 13,000 children, from whom 8,000 were chosen for further study. These children represented a sampling of urban, rural, native, foreign-born, whites, and Negroes. The children were asked to fill out elaborate questionnaires, and these were supplemented by data from their teachers. The study yielded information about the extent to which children confided in their parents. Tables XII-A and XII-B give data on this and show that the mother stands out as a confidante for both boys and girls, although there is a substantial difference be-

⁴ R. M. Stogdill: "A Study of Parental Attitudes," *Master's Thesis*, Ohio State University, 1930, pp. 49-50.

⁵ M. Simpson: "Parent Preferences of Young Children," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education*, No. 652, 1935.

⁶ H. Meltzer: "Sex Differences in Parental Preference Patterns," *Character and Personality*, 1941, 10, pp. 114-128.

⁷ E. W. Burgess (ed.): *The Adolescent in the Family*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934.

TABLE XII-A

THE DEGREE TO WHICH CHILDREN CONFIDE IN THEIR MOTHERS

TYPE OF CHILD	ALMOST NEVER (%)	SOME- TIMES (%)	ALMOST ALWAYS (%)
Rural white boys.....	21.78	55.71	22.50
Rural white girls.....	5.15	45.06	49.77
Urban white boys of American parentage.....	10.82	48.21	40.95
Urban white girls of American parentage.....	7.21	30.72	62.06

TABLE XII-B

THE DEGREE TO WHICH CHILDREN CONFIDE IN THEIR FATHERS

TYPE OF CHILD	ALMOST NEVER (%)	SOME- TIMES (%)	ALMOST ALWAYS (%)
Rural white boys.....	28.78	54.16	17.04
Rural white girls.....	31.29	55.10	13.60
Urban white boys of American parentage.....	24.09	48.88	27.01
Urban white girls of American parentage.....	29.09	47.71	23.18

tween rural and urban families. It would be difficult to assign the specific reason for the pronounced difference between the extent to which rural and urban children confide in their fathers. It seems quite reasonable to state that fathers in the city are at home far less on the average than those in the rural environment, while mothers in the city are likely to be at home more of the time.

Quite frequently parents adopt unwholesome and undesirable attitudes toward their children through sheer ignorance, carelessness, or lack of foresight. A mother, failing to realize the necessity for the child's withdrawal from under her wings of protection, may clutch strongly the determination to dominate the child. Such a parent cannot hope that the youth will be able to assume responsibility and exercise self-control if he is not permitted to practice either one. Today, families are considerably smaller and mothers have relatively more time for each child than did their forebears, who not only raised large families but also bore the drudgery of all the household duties. Much has been said about the mother's intense love for her children.

That such an attachment exists, very few would deny; but in many cases this attachment may be colored by a form of selfishness. President Emeritus Neilson of Smith College is quoted by *The New York Times* (November 18, 1937) as follows:

I used to think mother love was one of the most wonderful things in the world, but now I don't believe in mother love. I believe that in nine out of ten cases it is self-love, and mother wants daughter to make good grades to save mother's face so the neighbors will not say anything.

A mother may become so attached to the child and so integral a part of the child's life that she will dislike being pushed into the background when the adolescent finally begins to assert himself and display qualities of independence. The father has been omitted from this discussion, since today he usually plays the role of the breadwinner and assumes less responsibility for the control and discipline of children, except in extreme cases.

It is during this period of transition that parents must use insight, for there is a significant difference between coddling, shielding, and anticipating every desire of the child and the supervision and sympathetic guidance of the adolescent into adult ways of doing and thinking.

The effects of the home. The social adjustments of children living in a tenement area were studied by Boder and Beach.⁸ The object of their study was to learn to what extent children on a given street in a large city varied in social adjustment, and to trace some of the factors that may have led to differences among them. By selecting one small street with fairly uniform housing conditions, certain of the most undesirable social and economic factors were held constant. By including all children of the neighborhood in the study, some of the difficulties in attributing causal significance to certain factors were avoided. The outstanding conclusions that emerge from this consideration of some of the factors that might account for the variation in social adjustment displayed by the children living on the same street, are the predominating influence of parental attitudes toward the children and the general relation between what are usually considered good parental attitudes and adequate social adjustment on the part of the children. The various types of maladjustment in parental attitudes appeared to produce rather specific types of reactions in the chil-

⁸ D. B. Boder and E. V. Beach: "Wants of Adolescents: I. A Preliminary Study," *Journal of Psychology*, 1937, 3, pp. 505-511.

dren. Most of the families in which the children were shy, retiring, or generally socially inadequate, had mothers that were—by one means or another—in complete control of the household. Some of them achieved dominance by psychosis or neurosis, others by native ability or by providing the family with economic support. For the most part they overprotected their children, either through excessive solicitude or by undue control of their activities. The fathers were either easy-going, quiet, submissive men or were no longer living at home. On the other hand, the children who were unsupervised and neglected through the mother's laxness or were subjected to the father's violent temper escaped the tense, quarrelsome atmosphere of their homes and became the mischief-makers of the neighborhood.

There is evidence from many sources that the family group is very important in establishing patterns and attitudes affecting the individual's personal-social relations; and a fair degree of security within the home aids in the extension of such relations. Entorf has said of this:

Personally satisfying and socially constructive family relationships seem to depend very largely upon the capacity for genuine and sustained affection and the possession, especially on the part of the parents, of a certain sense of personal adequacy which renders domination, dependence, or emotional exploitation unnecessary within the family circle.⁹

In the development of personal adequacy among children Stott found that the city home ranked first; the farm home, second; and the small-town home, third.¹⁰ These findings are likely due to results lying within the community. In the small town there is constant gossip about trivialities and a strict censorship is established. This accounts for the findings by Stott that "on the average the attitude of small-town fathers toward the question of strict discipline versus freedom for adolescent children was found to be reliably more in the direction of strictness than that of either the city or farm fathers. It was further shown that the 'strict' attitude of fathers was negatively correlated with their children's scores in independence in regard to personal problems."

The community pattern. The community patterns of attitudes affect the attitudes of the home, and indirectly as well as directly affect the

⁹ M. L. Entorf: "Ends and Means in Teaching Family Relationships," *Parent Education*, April 1938.

¹⁰ Leland H. Stott: "Personality Development in Farm, Small-Town, and City Children," *Agriculture Experiment Station Research Bulletin*, No. 114. University of Nebraska, 1939, p. 33.

personality development of children as they reach adolescence and enter into more numerous out-of-home contacts. Concerning this Stott points out:

A young person's adjustment to life in general, his attitude toward work, or his independence in solving his personal problems are largely determined by the family situation in which he develops, by the wisdom of his parents in letting him do, and assume the responsibility for, his appropriate share of the household work, and by the extent to which he is allowed and encouraged, without blame for mistakes, to choose for himself and make his own decisions, but they are also conditioned and modified by the culturally determined attitudes and mores of the community or the degree of social integration which characterizes the neighborhood. Whether or not every 'date' an adolescent girl has is a matter of some concern and of considerable conversational value to the whole neighborhood, for example, might have much to do with the sort of personal adjustment she is able to make to life. Clearly the home setting, as well as the quality of the home environment as such, is a factor of importance in the development of personality.¹¹

Conflicts with parents. The reasons for disagreements arising between parents and adolescents give a further understanding of adolescent yearnings and problems related to home restraint. According to the data of Table XIII the most frequent source of difficulty for both

TABLE XIII

SOURCES OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN 348 BOYS AND 382 GIRLS
AND THEIR PARENTS

SOURCE OF DISAGREEMENT	BOYS (%)	GIRLS (%)
Use of automobile.....	35.6	29.6
The boys or girls you choose as friends.....	25.0	27.0
Your spending money.....	37.4	28.8
Number of times you go out on school nights during the week....	45.1	47.6
Grades at school.....	40.2	31.2
The hour you get in at night.....	45.4	42.7
Home duties (tending furnace, cooking, etc.).....	19.0	26.4
Clubs or societies you belong to.....	5.5	10.5
Church and Sunday school attendance.....	19.0	18.6
Sunday observance, aside from just going to church and Sunday school.....	15.2	13.9
The way you dress.....	14.4	24.6
Going to unchaperoned parties.....	15.8	27.5
Any other source of disagreement.....	9.5	8.4
"Do not disagree".....	2.0	2.1

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

boys and girls was the issue of going out or staying out late at night.¹² This is a problem of adjustment or conflict between two different standards: the parents' desires on the one hand, and the attitude of friends on the other. The sex differences presented in this study reveal that boys' problems exceeded those of girls in such things as the use of the automobile, spending money, and grades at school. For the girls, problems related to home duties, clubs or societies, manner of dress, and nature of parties presented a greater source of disagreement than did the problems of the boys.

It should not be concluded that all parents are domineering and possessive, nor that all children go through a struggle in achieving independence. In most homes parents come to realize, because of one reason or another, that their children are growing up and that they must be dealt with differently as they reach a more advanced level of development. The growth process on the part of the individual child, coupled with wider contacts and increased knowledge, brings with it demands that usually find expression and attain results leading toward the establishment of greater independence. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that there must be a limit to the degree of independence which anyone attains. Many adults are so completely self-sufficient that they never seek suggestions from others regarding anything, and as a result of their extreme independence they often pay dearly for mistakes that could have been avoided. If the parent becomes a counselor to the child, one who offers help rather than criticism in time of need and trouble, the child will come to recognize the importance of seeking help and advice in a rational manner. Although the boy or girl should be encouraged in this, it should be realized that while the parent gives suggestions and guidance, the growing adolescent must be the one actually to solve the problem and adjust the difficulty.

One of the most interesting and far-reaching studies dealing with adolescent conflicts is that conducted by Block.¹³ She found that the conflicts adolescents have with their parents (in her study, mothers) were in many cases the basis for most of the disturbances in their lives.

Over a period of five years, 528 junior and senior high school boys and girls were interviewed. By means of a questionnaire, an index

¹² Reprinted by permission from *The Family*, by J. K. Folsom, published by John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

¹³ Virginia Lee Block: "Conflicts of Adolescents with Their Mothers," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1937, 32, pp. 192-206.

of the conflicts that high school students are facing was obtained. A list of fifty problems indicated by the students was then studied. These problems and the percentage of high school students reporting them are as follows:

1. Insists upon nagging me regarding what I wear and how I dress. (B*-26.3; G**-50.9.)
2. Complains about how I comb my hair. (B-24.3; G-26.0.)
3. Fusses because I use lipstick. (B-0.0; G-64.6.)
4. Refuses to let me buy the clothes I like. (B-12.7; G-55.6.)
5. Complains about my hands or neck or fingernails being dirty. (B-55.7; G-10.5.)
6. Pestors me about my table manners. (B-74.8; G-63.9.)
7. Pestors me about my personal manners and habits. (B-68.5; G-70.0.)
8. Objects to my smoking. (B-0.8; G-13.4.)
9. Objects to my going with boys or girls she doesn't like. (B-19.1; G-40.4.)
10. Makes me go to bed at the same time that my younger brothers and sisters do. (B-30.6; G-45.1.)
11. Objects to the books and magazines I read. (B-17.9; G-32.5.)
12. Objects to my going to dances. (B-0.0; G-58.8.)
13. Insists that I eat foods which I dislike, but which are good for me. (B-82.4; G-83.8.)
14. Won't let me attend the church I want to attend. (B-4.4; G-53.4.)
15. Urges me to make friends with children of important people in town. (B-9.6; G-13.4.)
16. Won't let me take subjects I want in school. (B-32.9; G-56.1.)
17. Won't let me follow a vocation in which I am interested. (B-64.5; G-34.3.)
18. Insists that I go with friends of her choice. (B-20.3; G-69.7.)
19. Won't let me spend the night with any of my friends. (B-15.1; G-42.6.)
20. Nags about any little thing. (B-26.3; G-66.4.)
21. Insists upon interfering in settling any difficulties I may have with friends or teachers. (B-20.3; G-23.1.)
22. Talks baby talk to me. (B-33.4; G-10.5.)
23. Teases me about my girl friends. (B-51.3; G-0.0.)
24. Teases me about my boy friends. (B-0.0; G-65.7.)
25. Brags about me to other people. (B-50.1; G-22.7.)
26. Holds my sister or brother up as a model to me. (B-66.9; G-75.8.)
27. Spends most of her time at bridge parties, etc., and is rarely ever at home. (B-28.7; G-78.0.)
28. Tells her friends things about me that I tell her confidentially. (B-13.5; G-16.2.)
29. Insists that I be a goody-goody. (B-32.2; G-57.8.)
30. Shows favoritism to my brother or sister. (B-30.6; G-44.4.)

* Boys.

** Girls.

31. Embarrasses me by telling my friends what a good son or daughter I am. (B-49.8; G-26.4.)
32. Is cold to friends of mine she doesn't like. (B-19.9; G-45.1.)
33. Makes a huge fuss over friends of mine whom she likes. (B-34.3; G-36.8.)
34. Scolds if my school marks aren't as high as other people's. (B-82.4; G-85.9.)
35. Gets angry if I don't spend most of my time with her. (B-28.3; G-34.7.)
36. Talks against my father and wants me to agree with her. (B-8.4; G-16.6.)
37. Treats me as if I were a child. (B-5.2; G-16.3.)
38. Objects to my going automobile riding at night with boys. (B-65.7; G-87.4.)
39. Objects to my going automobile riding during the days with boys. (B-49.0; G-66.4.)
40. Insists that I tell her for exactly what I spend my money. (B-80.0; G-81.2.)
41. Won't give me a regular allowance. (B-54.1; G-52.3.)
42. Accompanies me to parties, movies, etc. (B-3.2; G-30.3.)
43. Insists that I take my sister or brother wherever I go. (B-50.5; G-82.3.)
44. Investigates places when I go to parties, etc., before I go. (B-15.1; G-44.4.)
45. Worries about my physical health. (B-26.7; G-58.8.)
46. Won't let me use the car. (B-85.7; G-70.8.)
47. Urges me to beat the next fellow in school work. (B-3.6; G-13.0.)
48. Urges me to outdo others socially, which I hate to do. (B-0.0; G-28.2.)
49. Won't ever let me go to the movies or dancing. (B-7.6; G-13.4.)
50. Won't let me entertain at home. (B-9.2; G-53.1.)

The results from the study by Block pointed to the fact that more conflicts were due to differences in thinking regarding personal appearances, habits, and manners than any other thing. Differences of opinion over vocational, social, recreational, and educational choices also caused some contention. Problems which appeared to have caused disturbances for the largest percentage of girls were in most cases the cause of least disturbances for boys, and vice versa. Girls in the seventh grade had the largest percentage of conflicts, while boys in the eighth grade had the largest percentage. When parents are cognizant of the sources of such conditions, they are in a better position to substitute guidance and understanding for conflict and contention.

Younger adolescents, especially, have difficulty in seeing any reason for many of the protective conventions of society. To insist upon obedience merely for the sake of obedience to some authority will have no value in the development of moral courage, but will, on the other hand, invite conflict and deception. As Butterfield points out:

When adolescents are reaching out to establish and enlarge their prestige with boy and girl friends they are likely to resent anything which restricts their efforts to win favor with such persons. The friendships of youth are precious and when apparently senseless social customs threaten to limit their enjoyment, youth readily adopts a defiant attitude.¹⁴

Conflicts regarding the proper night hours appear to be among the most common sources of friction between parents and adolescents. The Lynds¹⁵ report that 45 per cent of 348 boys in the upper grades of the high school and 43 per cent of 382 girls who replied to their questionnaire admitted they were having difficulties with their parents about the question of late hours. The causes usually have as their bases the differences in standards between the parents and the social group in which their children are moving. Faced with this difficulty parents all too often resort to scolding and complaining; they either fail to give plausible reasons why they want their children to come in earlier, or neglect to set up incentives for obedience and to provide a workable plan whereby the children may be able to satisfy their needs for social life and still come in at a more reasonable hour at night. Most young people will be pleased to co-operate when they realize that a plan proposed is a fair one and for their own best interests. The National Tuberculosis Association, for example, has distributed an excellent pamphlet explaining the importance of obtaining the amount of sleep necessary to good health. The use of constructive and non-critical materials of that nature will yield far better results than will parental authority, and go a long way toward developing greater independence and self-control among the adolescent boys and girls.

Insecurities during adolescence. When a child is placed in a difficult situation or required to face conditions for which he is unprepared, he is likely to develop a feeling of insecurity. This is noted where the child must constantly compete with others at a disadvantage—when his clothing is inadequate or when he is given school work that he cannot perform. Whenever a child is uncertain about his security in his own mind, he raises a question about the attitudes of others toward him. There is, therefore, always some danger that the wrong mental attitude will be acquired during adolescence while growth is so rapid. Conscious of the fact that clothes are constantly becoming too small, the child who has already shown a spurt in

¹⁴ Oliver M. Butterfield: *Love Problems of Adolescence*. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1939, p. 33.

¹⁵ Robert Lynd and Helen Lynd: *Middletown in Transition*. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1937.

growth may feel very conspicuous standing beside smaller children who have not yet started their rapid growth. During this period arms and legs seem longer than they should be, since the development of muscular control has not yet proceeded as far as has physical and muscular growth. As a result the child may appear awkward in certain muscular co-ordinations. All of this brings on self-consciousness, which is further increased by ridicule and teasing. From this situation introvert tendencies develop, and sometimes inferiority feelings are acquired. Concerning this, Jones, Conrad, and Murphy state:

It is possible to interpret most of the more troublesome forms of emotional disturbances in childhood in terms of some felt inadequacy in the child's adjustment to his physical or social environment. Fear and anxieties are closely related to a feeling of inadequacy in some strange, unprepared-for, and possibly menacing situation. Anger and irritations spring frequently from the inability to deal with an interfering or frustrating situation. In infancy these emotionally provocative situations are to a relatively large extent purely physical in nature (the child is frightened by a dog barking, frustrated by a box he cannot open). Insecurities, which are based upon more complex psychological factors, become increasingly important after infancy.¹⁶

Evaluating adolescent emancipation. The question we are confronted with in this topic involves an evaluation of the degree or extent to which emancipation has been accomplished in a given adolescent. Dimock¹⁷ has made several interesting studies on the subject of achieving independence and has furnished a measure or technique for estimating the degree of emancipation. He first compiled a list of several hundred items of conduct and activities which were characteristic of dependence and independence. After the completion of the list, it was submitted to about one hundred judges—psychologists, educators, sociologists, and parents. These judges evaluated each item and the one hundred and twenty most important ones were included in the final test. A sample of this E. F. P. Scale by which the degree of independence can be estimated is presented in Table XIV.

From the scale, which is self-explanatory, Dimock turned next to a study of the factors which condition emancipation. Chronological age was found relatively unimportant with a correlation of .14 between

¹⁶ H. E. Jones, H. S. Conrad, and Lois B. Murphy: "Emotional and Social Development and the Educative Process," *Thirty-Eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., Part I, 1939, p. 264.

¹⁷ H. S. Dimock: *Rediscovering the Adolescent*. New York: Association Press, 1937, p. 145.

TABLE XIV
ILLUSTRATIVE ITEMS OF THE EMANCIPATION SCALE

BOY'S E. F. P. SCALE

ITEM	What I Do	What I Want to Do	What My Parents Want Me to Do
Decide things for myself.	Yes No ?	Yes No ?	Yes No ?
Do what my father or mother decides on every question.	Yes No ?	Yes No ?	Yes No ?
Depend on my parents to buy all my things for me.	Yes No ?	Yes No ?	Yes No ?
Spend my allowance as I choose.	Yes No ?	Yes No ?	Yes No ?
Pick out and buy my own clothes	Yes No ?	Yes No ?	Yes No ?

emancipation scores and age. Physical characteristics such as height and weight, on the other hand, were quite significant.

TABLE XV
AVERAGE SCORES OF BOYS OF DIFFERENT AGES ON THE
EMANCIPATION SCALE

Age	Number of Boys	Average Score
13	13	47
14	74	47
15	59	49
16	22	52

Emancipation is evidenced from an analysis of movie attendance of children. As the child grows older there is a decline of movie attendance with members of the family but an increased attendance with friends and others, as is shown in Figure 8, page 84.¹⁸ The greater independence of the boys at all age levels is shown here.

If Dimock's E. F. P. Scale were employed in helping to determine John Jones's degree of emancipation and we found that he is still psychologically unweaned, what would be some characteristics of his behavior? First, John would constantly be seeking the advice and help of others simply because he cannot act or think independently. Mother has always been near to shield the youngster in her own inimitable way from burdensome tasks and difficult decisions. Help in

¹⁸ Edgar Dale: *Children's Attendance at Motion Pictures*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935.

school and supervised study are both necessary for John even to keep up with his classmates. His teachers wonder if he is capable of following printed instruction without having someone there to explain each step. Again, if John is forced to leave home for a visit, he suffers nostalgia to the extent that he loses his appetite and is unable to sleep. Perhaps this lad profoundly desires to become independent but is ignorant about the means of achieving this state. As a shield for his attachment to his parents he indulges in dramatic overcompensations such as getting drunk or using profanity. These radical behavior patterns are his outlets to show his independence. But looking into the future, we see the instability and unhappiness of an unweaned individual. He is not able to get along with the employer because he expects extra sympathy and "giving in" to his whims. Many a marriage has been wrecked owing to this same condition. The case may be that of an only child who constantly seeks the advice of an overanxious mother. It is not necessarily the mother who spoils the child. A case called to the attention of the writer illustrates this quite adequately.

Jane, an orphan child brought up outside the orphanage, was cared for by an older sister. The older sister accepted full responsibility for Jane's clothes, education, and late love affairs. This was so complete that, even after marriage, Jane still consulted with her about things. Owing to varying circumstances, Jane finally came to make her home in an adjoining town near the older sister. She called her older sister almost daily over long-distance. Jane tried to see her at least each week. As a result of various social problems arising, she eventually found herself under the complete control of the older sister and finally wrecked her own home due to this complete *infantilism* accentuated by the ever-present dominance of the sister.

Principles of establishing independence. Learning to let go means for the adolescent the art of relinquishment. He is confronted with the task of throwing off childhood habits of almost blind obedience, dependence, and desire for protection. His emancipation from almost complete supervision to independence cannot and should not take place in too short a period. Rather, this should be a gradual process, begun during childhood by the parents and developed through carefully planned education for *initiative* and *responsibility*. With the adolescent caught between new urges and old habits, one cannot help but realize the deep need for sympathetic understanding and wise handling on the part of the parents.

What, then, are some desirable procedures to follow in the devel-

opment of a growing child into a socially adequate and responsible youth? This is not a simple question; neither is there a single key that will answer it. That habits of independence should begin in childhood has already been suggested. With further development, responsibilities and privileges should be increased. The growing child will need more spending money and this can well be increased with advancing age. Again, the adolescent should be given greater freedom in the selection of his friends. The parents can function very effectively here through early training in ideals; for the present situation they can provide encouragement and an adequate setting for desirable friends whom the child has chosen. The adolescent wants greater freedom, for example, in buying his clothes or in doing his shopping for Christmas. Since the adolescent is not far removed from the period of childhood, he may be and often is very sensitive about being classed as a child and will quickly resent little things that may appear meaningless to the adult.

Not only are parents prone to thrust their ideals and manners of life upon their children literally in the form of a blueprint, but they may lay out certain vocational plans and try to make their children conform to them. Sometimes such plans are conceived of in terms of the parents' own weaknesses, their rationalizations, or still some other element in their make-up that is without a logical basis. The vocational plans of the adolescent should be made by the adolescent himself, with the aid, of course, of suggestions and information that may be obtained from the wisdom and understanding of those with whom he is in contact. Parents may—and in many cases do—have their own notions about what studies should be pursued in school, and may well-nigh force their child (a developing adolescent) to study particular school subjects without his understanding the reasons for such demands. It is in matters of such choices that parents can best serve as advisers; their advice becomes valid to the extent that emotions and feelings are controlled and reason and understanding, based upon fairness and truth, are used.

Take the case of Morris, a boy of fifteen, who managed to play truant from school for two full months before being discovered. His feat involved considerable lying, interception of mail, forging a report card, and general deception. Previously Morris had been an unusually satisfactory son and pupil. An only child, he was reared in a household consisting of parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts. He was an affectionate, obedient child, thoughtful of the adults, and especially close to his parents, who were deeply attached to each other and to him. He had friends, was reasonably

well liked by other boys throughout his childhood, but was more sober-minded than most of his companions, and of his own choice spent much of his free time reading or in recreational activity with his adult relatives. His parents had thought that they understood him thoroughly and had his full confidence. Actually, a small issue had, before the truancy, unconsciously become the symbol of the increasing dilemma of this boy and his parents.

At about fourteen Morris had begun to be interested in the music of name bands, and soon afterward wanted to learn to play the trumpet. Though his parents recognized that he had musical talent and though there was money for instrument and lessons, they feared that Morris would want to form or join a band and that such a band would be the center of a whole section of his life that they could not share with him. Accordingly, they refused permission, rationalizing their refusal by claiming that he needed all his spare time for study. Later they weakened that argument to some extent by encouraging him to take a part-time job in the neighborhood drugstore.

When Morris was just fifteen, he was thrown into a mild depression by the sudden death of a favorite uncle who had represented support of those individual interests that he was unable to affirm in the face of his parents' opposition. Nothing seemed worth doing, and when in the fall a school companion promised an excuse and suggested that they cut school to hear a famous band, he agreed. When, later, the excuse was not forthcoming, Morris continued to play truant, listening to records and attending theaters, all the while in such great conflict over what he was doing that it was eventually a relief to have his deception detected.¹⁹

In the choice of sweethearts and finally of a mate, parents often find themselves in disagreement with their children. Though well-meaning and eager for the boy or girl to choose wisely, the parent cannot make the choice for the youth. Again, the role of the parent should be that of a counselor; his counsel will be effective insofar as he has been willing to serve as an impartial and ever-helpful adviser in the various difficulties and problems that the adolescent faces. Adolescents will welcome suggestions and help, even in matters relating to the choice of a mate, when such help is given in a spirit of sincerity and fairness, motivated by a desire to aid them in finding the greatest harmony and happiness as a result of the choice made.

There is, therefore, a need for a carefully planned program integrated by the schools, churches, and homes in guiding the developing adolescent boys and girls. Many parents are unaware that conflicts exist, and when they are aware of them, they do not in most cases

¹⁹ Norman R. Ingraham: "Health Problems of the Adolescent Period," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November 1944, p. 131.

understand the sources of such conflicts. Home situations that take their toll in the form of parental nervousness, family discord, and childhood unhappiness can best be dispelled by studying the underlying sources of such troubles. This was the aim of the study by Block. As a result of this study a program was formulated and its effectiveness proved. Some important characteristics of this program as presented by Block are as follows:

A comparative study of the interviews with children and their mothers demonstrated that many situations producing apparently similar problems were very different in their causal elements. A careful investigation of the total clinical picture of 69.3 per cent of the children in the seventh grade complaining about their mothers nagging them about what they wear and how they dress, showed that the basic cause of the nagging was different for different children. Since no two problems are identical, the home and school must realize that the methods of treating one child exhibiting a definite behavior pattern may be opposite from the method applied to another child exhibiting the same behavior patterns. Each child must be studied by his parents and teachers as an entity in relation to his peculiar physical, mental and emotional make-up and his environmental influences.

An analysis of the interviews revealed the need and desire on the part of parents for a better understanding of the problems of adolescents and for cooperative effort to help boys and girls solve these problems. Parent discussion groups, parent-teacher meetings, personal interviews between parents and advisers, interviews with parents, children and advisers helped to bring the school and home into a very close and cooperative relationship. Teachers were able to obtain clearer understandings of pupils and adjust their methods to the needs of each child. Administrators and supervisors were better able to distribute children intelligently to curricula and extra-curricula offerings that were interesting and challenging to them and to adjust the curriculum in the light of the felt needs of the group. Many children were better able to take advantage of the opportunities offered in the high school; others who had exhibited undesirable tendencies were recognized earlier and were so guided that their attitudes in many cases were modified into socially acceptable behavior. Parents and teachers worked together in defining, interpreting, and planning experiences for children which would be most conducive to well-balanced, satisfying, and challenging experiences for the child. As a result children were less disintegrated by varying philosophies of treatment as is so often the case when the home, school, and community fail to define mutually a philosophy.²⁰

Summary. According to the concepts of growth presented throughout the discussions of adolescence, the adolescent is a product of all that has gone on before; no one ever outgrows his childhood. He de-

²⁰ Virginia Lee Block: *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205.

velops physically, mentally, and emotionally, but he never escapes the influence of his earlier years. This is very fortunate, since these early years become preparatory periods for adult living. They are fundamental as a stabilizing force in molding the individual into an adaptable member of the society in which he is to live. Sometimes the process of training is undesirable or deficient and the child carries infantile traits into adulthood. "The immature adult is seen to be selfish, wilful, petulant, impulsive, and in other ways objectionable to society."²¹

The causes of conflict between the child and the parents are many, but the failure of parents to realize that the child is growing up stands out as a common observation. The tendency of parents to thrust their exact pattern of conduct and ways of behaving on the child is also generally present. The child may become selfish and wilful under the protection of wealth. The daughter grows up without any sense of responsibility under the dominance of a very strict father. The only child may be pampered and spoiled by an adoring aunt or grandmother. The social pattern in the home will do much to affect the child's social and emotional development. A domineering and ill-tempered father keeps the child ill at ease and repressed. Vacillating and inconsistent authority and punishment will present a condition of bewilderment for the growing child. These childhood patterns become fixed and tend to persist into adult life. Bluemel gives the following illustrations of the operation of such childhood emotional patterns:

Little Hettie frequently quarreled with her sister, and because she was the younger and smaller of the two children, she could do little to help herself in the situation except indulge in cutting remarks. This became an accomplishment, but unfortunately she carried the patterns of response into adult life, and she now frequently offends people with her snippy and flippant comments. Her acquaintances regard her as snobbish and superficial, and she has made no lasting friendships.

When Jeffrey was a child, he and his mother had many encounters at mealtimes. As he was under weight his mother insisted that he eat everything that was set before him. In this situation her attitude was one of stubborn insistence maintained with complete silence. The boy responded with the same stubborn attitude and thus an hour or two would pass in which each would contend against the other's will. The boy has carried much of this taciturn resistance into adult life.

Benny has always been the spoiled child of his widowed mother, and it

²¹ C. S. Bluemel: *The Troubled Mind*. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1938, p. 468.

has been her desire to smooth his way in life and indulge his every wish. When he encountered trouble as a boy he could always run to his mother, knowing that she would take his part and protect him in his difficulties. If she could meet the situation in no other way, she would buy him candy or a new toy, or give him extra spending money and thus divert him from his troubles. Benny still regards his mother as a refuge now that he has reached manhood. He brings his marital troubles to his mother, and she takes him into her home. He brings his financial problems to her, and she pays his bills. Now that his debts have become too large for her to meet, she urges that he take bankruptcy and thus continue his evasion of responsibility.²²

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Just what do you understand the term "emancipation," as used in this chapter, to mean? What is its significance in relation to adjustment problems?
2. Present a descriptive case of personality maladjustment due to unfortunate or undesirable family conditions.
3. Show how difficulties between brothers and sisters arise. Illustrate this by some case with which you may be familiar.
4. Describe a typical conflict in some family situation with which you are familiar. What can be done to alleviate the prevailing conditions?
5. How do you account for the *parent preference* results presented in this chapter?
6. How do the major sources of conflict defined by Virginia Block compare with your observations? Can you account for any differences which may appear between your general observations and her findings?

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²² C. S. Bluemel: *op. cit.*, p. 470.

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X

The Adolescent in the Community

The importance of the community forces and conditions in the development of teen-age boys and girls is hard to evaluate. There is much evidence that, with the decline in size and function of the family unit, forces within the community have assumed a more important role; consequently, at some point, the growing individual comes face-to-face with problems that are not solved on the basis of authority or of sentiment, as are problems arising at home. The importance of the home and community in the development of character was well stated several years ago by John Dewey when he wrote:

In its deepest and richest sense a community must always remain a matter of face-to-face intercourse. This is why the family and neighborhood, with all their deficiencies, have always been the chief agencies of nurture, the means by which the dispositions are stably formed and ideas acquired which lay hold of the roots of character. The Great Community, in the sense of free and full intercommunication, is conceivable. But it can never possess all the qualities which mark a local community.¹

Social activities outside the home. When the child first attempts to make adjustments outside the home situation, he is confronted with many new conditions that cause him to feel insecure and somewhat inadequate. In the home he is constantly sheltered by older persons, who accept many responsibilities for his needs and provide him with affection and sympathetic treatment; whereas in the environment outside the home, he is confronted with others of his age level and with adult leaders who are responsible for guiding a group of individuals in their activities. There is a felt need on the part of each member of the group in the community for self-expression, and this can only be secured through co-operative activity. Thus, the pattern of group activity outside the home calls for co-operation and understanding on the part of the members of the group.

¹ John Dewey: *The Public and Its Problems*. New York: Henry Holt, 1927, pp. 211-212.

Within the community culture are definite class distinctions. There are a number of factors contributing to the formation of these distinctions, among which are race, economic resources, family background, national origin, and educational attainment. Social classes develop their own culture patterns, and there is a certain amount of unity found within a class.

There is built up a set of common attitudes, habits, sentiments and values upon which the members agree, which give them a basis for understanding each other, and upon which they act in harmony. To belong to a caste or class is to know how to act in prescribed ways. It gives a fixity and a predictability to behavior which may be important in the smooth running of the social order.²

The family transmits not only its own culture to the child, but the culture of the class to which it belongs as well. Also, the child is given ideas about other classes which affect his attitude and behavior toward them. This attitude and this behavior sometimes become emotionalized and firmly fixed, and affect the growing individual's approach to all problems involving human relations.

Studies of individuals who have been largely unaffected by social and thus institutional stimulation reveal that man is social chiefly because he is born into a social environment. Needless to say, however, certain inherent drives exist which tend to draw individuals together. Some of these were discussed in the preceding chapters in connection with motivation, and will not be considered further here. The entire structure of civilization, and the race of man itself, are a product of both social and biological evolution. The forces of social evolution are ever active; customs are changing, and each new generation is affected by forces quite different from those of preceding generations. One's life and growth at every point are conditioned by social forces operating through organized and unorganized institutions.

Playmates. Just prior to adolescence both boys and girls choose playmates or some particular chum and build close friendships, interests, and attachments. The reason for the choice of a particular chum and the effect of the chum on the formation of character in the life of the individual have been carefully studied by Furfey.³ In a study of 62 pairs of boys in a group of 296, he found that 45 per cent were from

² Kimball Young: *An Introductory Sociology*. New York: American Book Co., 1934, p. 475.

³ Paul H. Furfey: "Some Factors Influencing the Selection of Boys' Chums," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1927, 11, pp. 47-51.

the same neighborhood and that 89 per cent were in the same room in school. Correlations were obtained between the chums and certain variables, these variables being mainly physical measurements.

Table XVI gives the coefficients of correlation with respect to vari-

TABLE XVI

CORRELATION OF CHUMS WITH EACH OTHER WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN VARIABLES

Chronological age .....	.39 ± .07
Mental age .....	.24 ± .08
Developmental age (maturity) .....	.37 ± .07
Height .....	.34 ± .08
Weight .....	.22 ± .08

ous physical measurements. The study did not take into account such factors as tastes, interests, moral standards, temperament, social status, and economic conditions that in some cases are probably more important than some of the measurements given. Chronological age, physiological maturity, and height, respectively, were the three measurements that correlated highest, while weight gave the lowest correlation.

Jenkins⁴ found in a study of 280 boys and girls in the Junior High School of Riverside, California, that socio-economic positions of parents were closely related to the choice of chums or companions. Children tended also to choose friends from the same age group and because of proximity of homes. Friendships were found to be about equally divided between those made at school and those made at home and in neighbors' contacts. Another study bearing on this problem was made by Newstetter, Feldstein, and Newcomb.⁵ They were confronted with the questions: Is the child an active agent in the selection of associates? Is similarity or dissimilarity the more important in selection? A preliminary study asked 142 boys and girls and a final study asked 823 subjects the question: Whom would you invite to a party you were having? This same question was asked again a month later. The results indicated that propinquity is a very important factor in the selection of associates, and that similarity is more important than dissimilarity.

Physical activity is quite important in drawing adolescent boys to-

⁴ G. G. Jenkins: "Factors Involved in Children's Friendships," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1931, 22, pp. 440-448.

⁵ W. I. Newstetter, M. J. Feldstein, and T. M. Newcomb: *Group Adjustment: A Study in Experimental Sociology*, Cleveland, 1938.

gether, although it is not likely to operate to such an extent among girls. Physical activity and ability are so very often looked upon as masculine traits that they are conceived of as more essential for the boy than for the girl; hence they tend to influence his choice of friends and companions. The home emphasis on social standing is especially influential among adolescent girls in their choice of companions.

* That "birds of a feather flock together" has been long recognized and is borne out by evidence in the field of psychology and education. During adolescence playmates or companions are much more likely to be chosen according to individual likings than during earlier childhood, or even during the period following, when business and social standing play so prominent a part for most people in their choice of associates. When the adolescent tends to choose undesirable companions, it is usually of little use to admonish or reproach him. The trouble in most cases is due to early training or environmental surroundings, and much pressure brought to bear during adolescence will, as a rule, serve only to aggravate the general situation and cause the individual to assume an antagonistic frame of mind. It is during the earlier years of life that tastes for good friendships should be established. Ideals of conduct directed toward some desirable goal develop gradually according to the developmental concept that is emphasized through this study of adolescents. A new environmental setting for the adolescent, a new interpretation of life's value in harmony with certain interests and desires, or a change in general vocational activity may function effectively in the eradication of undesirable chum selection.

Formation of groups and gangs. At the age of adolescence boys and girls become highly interested in forming groups, societies, gangs, and clubs; and these are indeed truly representative of the "gang" stage of life. Scientific investigations show that as a rule the members of a gang are likely to be of about the same level of intelligence. The members usually come from within a certain limited geographical area, as is the case in the selection of chums among adolescent boys. The gang is very apt to be in the main a neighborhood affair. Through it individuals are affected by the behavior patterns of others and tend to influence the formation of behavior patterns in others by their own activities. The group is generally homogeneous in its desires, likes, and dislikes; social uniformity in ideals and attitudes tends to develop in accordance with general activities. Loyalty to different members of the group reaches a high pitch and may even surpass the loyalty earlier established to such ideals as honesty and truthfulness.

The structure and behavior of a gang is molded in part through its accommodation to its life conditions. The groups in the ghetto, in a suburb, along a business street, in the residential district, in a Mid-western town, or in a lumber community vary in their interests and activities not only according to the social patterns of their respective milieus but also according to the layout of the buildings, streets, alleys, and public works, and the general topography of their environments. These various conditioning factors within which the gang lives, moves, and has its being may be regarded as the "situation complex," within which the human nature elements interact to produce gang phenomena. So marked is the influence of such factors as bodies of water, prairies, hills, and ravines in determining the location and character of gang activities that in Cleveland juvenile delinquents have been classified on this basis.

Gangs represent the spontaneous effort of boys to create a society for themselves where none exists adequate to their needs. Boys derive from such association experiences that they do not get otherwise under the conditions that adult society imposes—the thrill and zest of participation in common interests, more especially in corporate action, in hunting, capture, conflict, flight, and escape. Conflict with other gangs and the world about them furnishes the occasion for many of their exciting group activities.

The gang functions with reference to these conditions in two ways: It offers a substitute for what society fails to give; and it provides a relief from suppression and distasteful behavior. It fills a gap and affords an escape. Thus the gang, itself a natural spontaneous type of organization arising through conflict, is a symptom of disorganization in the larger social framework.

As individuals become affiliated with different groups in the school, the church, and the community in general, there may be conflicting loyalties. This is especially true for those who are members of minority groups, for the larger and more inclusive community organizations and agencies are likely to foster ideals and attitudes dominated by the majority element. The problem of adjustment for minority groups becomes a more difficult one—one fraught with more chances for conflicts—than is the case for the members of the majority group or groups. For example, the behavior, attitudes, and beliefs of the child of Greek-born parents, living in a family culture largely Greek which is located, however, in a second and third generation Polish or German neighborhood, would be in conflict with that of the children of

the community. In adolescence students are keenly aware of loyalties, especially of loyalty to members of their groups. The problems encountered in this connection are sometimes very difficult, as suggested by Lois Meek.

How one can be loyal to one's family, loyal to a small organized group of peers, and loyal to the school becomes a vital question. Boys and girls need help in analyzing these loyalties and in discussing loyalties appropriate to various group affiliations. They need help through which to build a constructive basis for guiding their behavior.⁶

The camp. It is becoming more widely recognized that camping activities may contribute much to the personality development of boys and girls. However, one cannot lay down any general rule as to who should go to camp, nor can one say just what is the best type of camp, for this will depend upon the nature and needs of the individual. The widespread development of camps is a result of (1) the increased recognition of the educational value of camp experiences, (2) the mental and physical health value of camp life, and (3) the need for recreation under guidance during the summer months when schools are not in session.

With the urbanization of our society there have come about new demands for these activities, and the utilization of camping as an educational, health, and recreational agency seems destined to become more general in the future. The form the camp takes depends in a large measure upon the agency sponsoring it, but the general aims of all camps are somewhat similar; to this statement the scout camp, operated primarily in the towns and cities, and the 4-H Club camp, operated among rural groups, both with the same object and with much the same activities, bear witness. It is quite likely that more camps supported by public funds and appealing to special interest groups will be developed, and that these will be operated primarily as educational and recreational centers. By bringing together special interest groups from different localities, camps enable adolescents to form new associations, and these associations give them a broader view on life, liberalize their thinking, and humanize their personalities.

Dimock⁷ requested parents of boys who had been away at camp to

⁶ Lois Hayden Meek (Chairman, Committee on Workshop): *The Personal-Social Development of Boys and Girls with Implications for Secondary Education*. New York: Progressive Education Association, 1940, p. 128.

⁷ H. S. Dimock and C. E. Hendry: *Camping and Character*. New York: Association Press, 1929, pp. 284-288.

note changes appearing in these boys a month after they had returned. According to the results of these ratings, there was a pronounced improvement in certain character qualities, among which are the following, listed in order of the number of times the increased rating was given them: confidence in self, courtesy, responsiveness to parental suggestion, appreciation of music, consideration for the welfare of others, meeting and mixing with others more easily, co-operating readily, volunteering for service tasks, and so forth.

Dimock⁸ also requested the boys themselves to indicate "the biggest things a boy gets out of camp life." The things mentioned most often were as follows:

	No. of boys mentioning
Skill in such activities as swimming, canoeing, campcraft	39
Learning to get along with others, "mixing," working together	35
Better health, physical fitness, strength, posture	33
Attitude of helping the other fellow, unselfishness	32
Self-confidence, reliance, initiative, thinking for self	20
Development of courage and nerve, losing timidity	17
Appreciation of nature, out-of-doors, and music	17
Meeting and making friends, fellowship	16

Organizations such as the Camp Fire Girls, Girl and Boy Scouts, the Y. W. C. A., the Y. M. C. A., and many others have established camps throughout the country. These camps are generally operated on a liberal expense budget. The child's health is given careful consideration and he is put on a balanced diet; he learns the art of living, working, and playing with others. Children—especially those from the urban sections of the country—are given an opportunity to become acquainted with the world of nature and to explore its possibilities. While the camp, like the public school, is democratic in nature, it provides an even greater opportunity for democratic living. Children from different types of homes are enrolled at these camps, yet they are all required to follow the same rules and are given the same privileges; thus they tend to live, work, and play in a democratic manner.

The social setting. There has been much controversy over the relative advantages of the city, small-town, or country environment for the social and character development of children. It has been pointed out by some that a farm in the open, away from the artificiality and restrictions of the city, is the ideal place; whereas others have pointed

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

out that these advantages are more than offset by such disadvantages as lack of educational facilities, opportunities for social participation, and many modern sanitary and labor saving conveniences. However, as a result of modern means of transportation and communication, coupled with the more widespread use of labor saving devices, these differences are not so marked as formerly.

On the other hand, it has already been stated that there is a significant difference in the size of the family unit in different areas, with the rural areas having the largest units. Forty-five per cent of the children of this nation live on farms. In an essentially rural cultural pattern, neighborliness, stability of mores, and close family ties with considerable family dependability are present. A child reared in such a cultural pattern has ordinarily found adjustment to his vocational and adult world a fairly simple matter; however, with the technological developments which have been underway for the past century, many boys and girls are continuously leaving this rural cultural environment and entering into the cultural life of the cities. Many of these individuals are ill-prepared for meeting the more complex and artificial problems of an urban environment and consequently become mal-adjusted, a misfortune which presents a real challenge to the rural communities to develop an educational program which will offer boys and girls an opportunity to study problems related to urban life, and a chance to acquire vocational skills and understanding enabling them to adjust more readily to increasingly complex social living and modern technological procedures.

Demands are continuously being made in the community for co-operation and group action. Truly, we have passed from an individualistic society to a society requiring group action, group thinking, and co-operative effort. The school program should be sufficiently related to community activities and problems to provide meaningful situations for group activity.

The school has become in many rural and small town communities the social and recreational, as well as the educational, site and center. Such a community center provides boys and girls with an opportunity to meet together, to develop the ability to play together, to attain skill in socially acceptable activities, to learn the art of conversation, and to acquire an appreciation of desirable types of entertainment. Future Farmers of America, 4-H Clubs, and like organizations provide splendid opportunities for boys and girls to meet and work

together under desirable conditions. Through such organizations they are able to display leadership and initiative, gain information, and acquire useful and wholesome social skills.

Thirteen million of our population live in small towns of between 250 and 2,500 people. Some of these communities are railroad towns, which sprung up around junctions, others are manufacturing towns with the factory as the center, and still others are college towns, capital towns, lumbering towns, etc. In such a situation one may find a diversity of nationalities, religions, and cultures; the process of assimilation, however, is very rapid under such conditions, since most of the minority groups are very small in number. Such is not the case in the city, where minority groups isolate themselves in special areas. The small towns are made up of more homogeneous groups than are the cities, and there is less diversity in the social and economic strata.

It has been said that the present-day city exhibits civilization at its worst and at its best. Fifty years ago slightly more than one fourth of our population lived in cities; today over one half does so, in conditions that range from those of the slums to those reserved for position and wealth. Sociological studies show that there is a very close relationship between unrest and crime, and living conditions. The range in standard of living is from the lowest, where children are underfed, ill-clothed and certainly ill-housed, to the other limit of the scale, where there is an abundance of luxuries of all classes and descriptions. The average standard of living in this country is high, when compared with that of most other areas of the world, but the median standard of living is several hundred dollars a year per family below that of the average. The wide variety of groupings in a typical American city, and the great disparity between even the average standard of living and the sub-standard scale by which many are forced to live are important sources of unrest, mischief, and crime.

Then, too, in the large city the neighborliness and moral stability, found in a more homogeneous and informal group of rural and small-town people, are likely to break down. In small communities, where everyone knows his neighbor and accepts approximately the same standards as guides for his conduct, public opinion acts as a regulating force. But in the large cities, where such conditions do not exist, there is much less public scrutiny, and increased freedom of action results. This, of course, has both advantages and disadvantages. The existence of the latter creates an increased need for the agencies concerned with the guid-

ance of boys and girls to give added attention to the importance of the development within the individual of standards and values for the regulation, direction, and control of his personal-social relations.

Furfey,⁹ from a comparison of the "developmental-age" scores of urban and rural boys, found differences favoring the urban boys "equivalent to about a year and one third at age eleven, about two years at twelve, and about one third of a year at thirteen." It has already been pointed out that the family situation provides the setting, the stimulation, and most of the guidance (especially during the earlier years) which will determine, very largely, whether the child will develop into a well-adjusted and socially useful individual; however, the home environment never functions independently of its social setting. The quality of the social life and of the person-to-person relationships outside the home are influential factors affecting social development. Stott found that in the area of social relationships the farm home was at a disadvantage. He concludes from his studies:

Two of the personality variables, viz., resourcefulness in group situations and ethical judgment, had particularly to do with facility and discrimination in social relationships. The farm group ranked lowest in both of these variables. The city and town groups averaged about equally but both were significantly superior to the farm group. These differences, however, were almost wholly contributed by the girls.¹⁰

Social recreational programs. The various studies of the effects of lack of guidance on the behavior of adolescent gangs have caused the community to focus its attention more and more upon the need for desirable recreational activities for adolescent boys and girls. According to the studies by Thrasher,¹¹ gang life thrives in those areas where there is a lack of wholesome and well-directed group activities, and where boys and girls are faced with difficulties in adjustment to persisting problems. Many cities realize that boys and girls need a place where they can meet together, laugh, talk, and amuse themselves at wholesome activities. The lure of the "juke joint" and similar places is contrived to appeal to boys and girls attempting to satisfy their desire for recreation. Although the community projects carried out by city authorities cannot

⁹ P. H. Furfey: "A Note on the Relative Developmental Age Scores of Urban and Rural Boys," *Child Development*, 1935, 6, pp. 88-90.

¹⁰ Leland H. Stott: "Personality Development in Farm, Small-Town, and City Children," *Agriculture Experiment Station Research Bulletin*, No. 114. University of Nebraska, 1939, p. 32.

¹¹ F. M. Thrasher: *The Gang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.

take the place of homes or parental supervision, they can provide hang-out rooms where adolescents may enjoy wholesome recreation under desirable conditions. These rooms may be equipped with a radio, piano, table tennis, magazines, and the like, and provided with supervision sufficient to satisfy the need without being obtrusive. Recreation departments have found that for the older high school group the most popular programs are those offering social activities of a rather informal nature, an observation confirmed by the conclusions of the *Fortune* survey: "Ahead of any specific sport came dancing and movies for both boys and girls. After these the favorite pastimes are running around with friends, gab sessions, and the like."¹²

The importance of recreation as a stabilizing force during a transition period is well exemplified in the case of Henry Smith.

Henry left high school at the end of the ninth grade. He was then almost sixteen years of age. Although he was not a failure in school, he didn't find the work too interesting. Furthermore, he came from a home in the lower economic scale. He tried to get a job, first in one of the stores of the community and later in a near by furniture factory. His efforts were fruitless, although his name was placed on file for future reference. Back at home and later on the streets, Henry was faced with several possibilities. He might continue a search for a job. In this quest he might or might not succeed. He might give up completely his search for a job and join a gang of ne'er-dowells at the back lot, or he might remain patient, and find release for his energy in wholesome recreational pursuits. The last named alternative would tend to keep him in a more wholesome state, and better prepare him for breaks that might appear at a later time. Henry resorted to this alternative and spent part of his spare time at the public library, looking through some magazines and books dealing with mechanics. Furthermore, he continued his interest in Sunday school and during the summer played soft ball with a church team. Through his associations and by constant alertness to find work, he obtained a job at a filling station, an adjustment that seemed to be a happy one for him.

Although this is not a story of the poor boy becoming a prince, it does reveal the need for wholesome recreational pursuits as a means for attaining desired adjustments during a transition period. It is during such a period that the boy or girl is forced to make a choice, and any condition involving choice is fraught with the danger that the wrong one will be made.

In order to provide opportunities for boys and girls to enjoy wholesome recreational pursuits, it was suggested by Miss Dorothy Richard-

¹² See *Fortune*, December, 1942.

son, Director of the Y. W. C. A.—USO work during World War II, a three-way program is needed. This program would include more adult education relative to the nature and needs of adolescents, well-planned high school recreational programs designed to hold youngsters in their community and perhaps in school, and wholesome social centers or places of meeting sufficiently inviting to attract the youngsters who might otherwise frequent less desirable places. During periods of prosperity a large percentage of children are given a fairly large allowance of spending money. During the period of a national emergency, such as that of World War II, they may be able to provide themselves with money through easy employment. Miss Richardson comments on this condition as follows:

Given money and thrown largely upon their own resources in their leisure time, they want grown-up experiences. They turn to those things which they associate with the adult world, spending their money dining and dancing in hotels and dance halls, the only places available to them because adults have been too busy to provide other gathering spots. The community must take time to find new places for them with the sort of "zippy" entertainment calculated to win their attention.¹³

Need for adult insight. As children progress from early childhood through later childhood and into adolescence, the adults who deal with them show less and less insight into the role or position of a particular child in his social group. This is reflected in statements made by adults, such as: "I don't understand why Sue is not more popular with the other girls; she seems to be such a nice, sweet girl." In a study bearing on this problem, Moreno¹⁴ asked children from kindergarten through the eighth grade to choose two classmates whom they would like to have sit on each side of them. He also asked the teachers to list which children conceivably would receive many choices and which would receive few or none. The teachers' judgments coincided with the choices made by the kindergarten and first grade children about two thirds of the time. On the other hand, they agreed with the seventh grade pupils only in about one fourth of the cases.

Summary. A few pieces of lumber, some glue, and nails is not a table. Likewise, a collection of boys, girls, and adults is not a community. There must be some common interests and needs, mutual confidence and understanding, association and sharing a common lot, if there is to

¹³ Quoted from *New York Times*, January 17, 1943, p. D3.

¹⁴ J. L. Moreno: *Who Shall Survive?* Washington: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934.

be a true community. Morgan has said in this connection: "In a true community many activities are shared by the same people. This unified living results in deeper social roots and more unified personalities."¹⁵

The summer camp has come into use as a means for providing for the recreational, health, and educational needs of adolescents. Increased leisure has presented a problem and a challenge. It is important that this time be not wasted, but used as a road to health, efficiency, and morality. Without a purpose or goal, free time may bring the adolescent in contact with vice, crime, and unconventional practices. But if his community offers libraries, museums, school activities, sports, hobby groups, church groups, "Y" settlement houses, playgrounds, movies, and parks, there is less chance that he will divert his energy into undesirable channels.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. What are the main features of a community? Describe some community of your acquaintance, showing the presence of these features.
2. What are some of the new conditions and problems faced by the child in his community adjustments?
3. Show how conflicting loyalties sometimes develop as the individual becomes affiliated with various groups of the community.
4. What are some class distinctions found in a community of your acquaintance? Show how individuals may move from one class to another. What are the major barriers to such mobility?
5. What factors influence the choice of playmates during the preadolescent stage? List these in order of importance.
6. What is the fundamental reason for the gang? What needs does the gang supply?
7. Describe the community facilities for recreation in some community with which you are especially well acquainted.
8. Analyze the nature and function of one of the teen-age recreation centers discussed in some fairly recent number of *Recreation* magazine.

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¹⁵ A. E. Morgan: "The Community," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 1945, 34, p. 55.

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XI

The Adolescent at School

Increased school attendance. The institution of the school has evolved in all highly civilized societies. In a democratic society, it holds an outstanding and dominant place. The perpetuity of a democracy is predominantly dependent upon an enlightened citizenry, and, therefore, upon educational opportunities for all. Thus, all states of the United States have compulsory school laws requiring boys and girls to remain in school until they are fourteen years of age or more. According to the 1940 census, 92.2 per cent of youth fourteen years of age were in school; 87.3 per cent of the fifteen-year-old group, 75.7 per cent of the sixteen-year-old group, 60.5 per cent of the seventeen-year-old group, and 38.1 per cent of the eighteen-year-old group.

The comment made by Ralph B. Spence relative to the school program in the state of New York is applicable to many places. He says:

We have done an excellent job in building up a school program that will take care of a large percentage of children. We cannot rest satisfied, however, until we have acquired the skill necessary to meet the needs of 100 per cent of the children. It is necessary, therefore, that each school carefully check its curriculum, its guidance program, its recreation program, and its other services, to see if these are taking care of the special needs of the vulnerable group.¹

Our notion of what constitutes child labor has changed enormously during the course of the past century. It was just a century ago (1842) that the state of Massachusetts specified that children under twelve years of age should not work more than ten hours per day. However, the first minimum-age law, passed by Pennsylvania in 1848, established a twelve-year-minimum age for workers in textile mills. This was a higher minimum than that provided a few years later in Connecticut and Massachusetts. The concern during this period was over the control of the hours of labor for children rather than of those for

¹ Ralph B. Spence: "New York State's Program for Preventing Delinquency," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1945, 18, p. 442.

adolescents. There was little concern about child-labor legislation for adolescence until a fairly recent date. Thus, child labor in industry was at its peak in 1910. This is shown in Table XVII. The steady decrease

TABLE XVII

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND CHILD LABOR IN UNITED STATES
1910-40

(Taken from Zimand, "The Changing Picture of Child Labor," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November 1944, p. 86.)

	1910	1920	1930	1940
Under 14 years				
Population 7-13 years attending school...	12,146,173	13,869,010	16,398,400	15,034,695*
Population 10-13 years gainfully employed	895,976	378,063	235,328	Not reported
14-15 years				
Population attending school.....	2,676,465	3,124,129	4,156,378	4,347,665*
Population gainfully employed.....	1,094,249	682,795	431,790	209,347
16-17 years				
Population attending school.....	1,573,377	1,644,061	2,669,857	3,361,206
Population gainfully employed.....	Not reported	1,712,648	1,478,841	662,967

* The basis for determining school attendance in the 1940 Census differed from that of previous years. In 1940, school attendants were those who had attended school during March, the month preceding the census; former censuses included persons who had attended school at any time between the previous September and the census date. The 1940 figures, if on a comparable basis with those of previous years, would therefore be higher than those given.

in the number of children employed each year since 1910, and the increase in the number in school is a reflection of the growth of the concept that universal education is needed for intelligent and efficient citizenship.

The problem of the school. Materials relative to school survival rates reveal a high mortality rate with advancing age and contacts with more complex school materials. The curriculum of our secondary schools was not designed for children of subnormal or of even average abilities; consequently it has little significance or meaning to many pupils. It has already been stated that the child is an active organism, functioning according to the organismic concept in a unitary manner. The principle of "learning by doing" which was early recognized as

an essential element in all learning developments, applies to social and emotional phases of life as well as to those classified as mental.

The problem of providing for the needs of *all the pupils* when they reach the high school age is becoming more acute with the increase of the secondary school enrollment and the development of a universal



Courtesy, School Life.

Adolescents at school.

recognition of the necessity of a high school education. As Witty observes:

Elasticity in school demand and freedom to develop individuality are essential in the new school, if maximum growth is to take place. Uniformity and excessive conformity are foes to growth. Outmoded codes must be abandoned, and we should aim, through cooperative reconstruction of experience, to develop more adequate values. In this process of creation, cooperative endeavor is a most important determiner of growth.²

Probably at no period in life is some sort of social adaptation unnecessary. The adolescent entering high school has received much training in co-operation, punctuality, and other obligations; but with increasing maturity, social contacts are widened and new adaptations must be made. So the school in a number of ways attempts to further the socialization of its pupils. Recognizing that direct suggestion through lectures and formal study is of little value in establishing desirable social habits, it must provide social situations in which the young may develop, according to the laws of learning. Thus extracurricular activities have been encouraged. However, there is one danger in the admin-

² P. A. Witty: "Enriching the Life Experience of Exceptional Children," *School and Society*, 1934, 39, p. 106.

istration of such activities which should be clearly seen and guarded against. It results from the carrying over of the teacher's classroom attitude to non-classroom activity; it is illustrated in athletic teams whose aim is to win rather than to improve their social life.

School success is not sufficient. The child who is successful in school is quite often looked upon as a model; such success is regarded as a crowning achievement of such qualities as will power, tenacity, desirable drives, and good mental habits and powers. That this is true in a great many cases is not questioned here; but when such an achievement is attained at the expense of a well-balanced personality, it is fraught with danger and should be looked upon with suspicion. The writer is reminded of a case that came within his observation a few years ago:

A girl, referred to here as Josephine, had always been a good student. She enjoyed her work at school and spent most of her time working with the assigned lessons. She was third from the top in a class of more than thirty pupils in the sixth grade. Since she was about average in intelligence (the Stanford Revision of the Binet Tests gave her an IQ of 107), she had to spend most of her time at work on her lessons in order to make the mark and hold the position in her class toward which her aims were always pointed. Her parents as well as friends and kinspeople commented favorably to her about her school work, and this was an added urge to keep trying. From observations of this girl for a period of five years following this first general observation, it has become apparent that the girl is not developing her social qualities as she should. She has a very narrow range of interests; though a leader in her school work she is not a leader among the group of girls of her class, nor has she given just consideration to her health and general appearance. It is unlikely that she will be able to go to college (unless her continued academic drive operates in this connection). Although she is not a problem case of any kind, she has not developed the various phases of herself that would serve her well in difficult situations or enable her to adapt herself to the groups with which she will come into contact during the course of her life.

Anne G. Beck³ suggests that among individuals completely immersed in their studies, either one or both of the following conditions are often found: There may be a withdrawal mechanism established in which the individual finds more satisfactions and pleasures from an introverted, introspective type of experience than from a more active, extroverted type of life, constantly in contact with others. Secondly, there may be a definite defense mechanism established in which the

³ Anne G. Beck: "School Success as a Withdrawal Mechanism in Two Adolescents," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1934, 29, pp. 87-94.

individual is trying to overcompensate for some inadequacy of which he is conscious. By such a technique he is able to obtain esteem and prestige, at least in his own way of thinking.

Social development is important for adequate adjustment in our social order today. Among some of the things essential for an adequate adolescent personality, aside from school success, are participation in group activities, the development of a desirable range of interests and abilities, habits of self-control, and a reasonable amount of psychological weaning. Students with high personality quotients usually assume positions involving leadership and are more popular with other students. Students with low personality quotients are not necessarily problem cases, but they do not always show marked sociable habit patterns. Students with high personality quotients appear to be more dependent on environmental than hereditary factors, and are probably influenced by a wider range of environmental factors.

Interests in school subjects. The general conclusions of the various studies pertaining to interest and ability do not reflect so much the individual's capacity as compared with that of others, as they do his hierarchy of abilities. Thus the individual will quite likely be most interested in those things he can do best; but this "best" does not of necessity mean superiority over others in the specified task.

According to the data presented from the *Fortune* Survey, conducted in 1942, English and mathematics rank first and second, respectively, as the most liked and least liked subjects. (See Table

TABLE XVIII

SHOWING HIGH SCHOOL SUBJECTS LIKED BEST AND THE ONES LIKED LEAST BY HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

	Best	Least
Mathematics—algebra, geometry, trigonometry	20.0%	26.7%
English—grammar, composition, literature, etc.	17.7	22.2
Sciences—general science, biology, chemistry, other (except social)	14.8	18.7
History	11.0	12.4
Vocational courses—home economics, typing, and other business	10.3	3.9
Languages—French, Spanish, etc.	6.8	13.4
Civics, government, social science, etc.	1.8	3.2
Don't know	2.4	5.3

XVIII.)⁴ It might be stated that these are the subjects most widely given, and that they generally run throughout the high school cur-

⁴"Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, December 1942, p. 14. The materials of Table XVIII are based upon answers to the questions: "Of all the subjects you have taken so far in high school, which one have you liked best? Which least?"

riculum, although there is a tendency to make more of the advanced high school work in mathematics elective in nature. Cross tabulations from the Survey show further that certain patterns of preferences there are frequently found. Those students disliking English, languages, and history, often offer as their preferences mathematics and the laboratory sciences; and vice versa.

Another investigation⁵ which is of interest in this connection undertook to find the relation between pupils' ratings of school subjects for preference and ease. Forty-eight high school subjects were ranked by 25 judges according to the demands they were believed to make upon intelligence. The technique involved in assigning a rank to a subject is too technical and space-consuming to be considered here. It is such, however, as has been found valid in educational research. After the subjects were ranked, 309 gifted high school pupils were asked to rate from 1 to 5, according to liking, the subjects they had taken. A rating of 1 meant that the subject was liked "very much"; 3, that it was neither liked nor disliked; 5, that it was disliked "very much."

It was found that the subjects in the mathematics group were the best liked by far, and that this was the easiest group. Other subjects which were well liked were chemistry, physics, dramatics, and sports. For these gifted high school pupils, the art group—freehand drawing, modeling, instrumental music, vocal music, and painting—was the least liked and the hardest. The correlation between the ratings of the subjects on intellectual demands and on ease was $-.384 \pm .081$. *That is, the less intelligence a subject demands, according to competent judges, the harder it is for these pupils, and the less they like it; the more intelligence it demands, the easier it is and the better they like it!*⁵ On the other hand, the correlation between the per cent of pupils who rated a subject 1 for preference and the per cent who rated it "very easy" was found to be $-.753 \pm .044$. These correlations tell us that there is a close relation between interest and ability. They do not tell us whether either is cause or effect. Probably a safe assumption is that there is a close interrelation between them and that either may be cause or effect.

Florence M. Young⁶ investigated the causes for loss of interest in

⁵ L. M. Terman and others: *Genetic Studies of Genius*. Palo Alto, Cal.: Stanford University Press, I, 1925, pp. 585-595.

⁶ Florence M. Young: "Causes for Loss of Interest in High School Subjects as Reported by 651 College Students," *Journal of Educational Research*, 1932, 25, pp. 110-115.

high school subjects. She obtained her results from a questionnaire which was given to 651 college women attending State Teachers College, Athens, Georgia. A number of the outstanding reasons were as follows: failure to see a need for the subject, 29 per cent; uninteresting material, 24 per cent; monotonous methods, 23 per cent; inability of the teacher to "put it across," 23 per cent; lack of foundation, 22 per cent; difficulty of material, 20 per cent; incompetent or ignorant teacher, 17 per cent.

*Interests and abilities.*⁷ Several studies have been made of the relationship between interests and abilities during different periods of life. Thorndike⁸ was one of the first to investigate this general subject. He had a group of 344 college students rank their interests in the elementary school, the high school, and the college period in seven different school abilities. Correlations were computed between the individual's order of interest and his order of abilities, and were found to be .89 each for the elementary school, for the high school, and for college. Bervard O. Nemoitin⁹ investigated the relation between interest and achievement. The data of his study were gathered by means of a questionnaire and the use of school records of the students. He found that the degrees of relationship between ability in high school courses "liked best," "liked second best," "disliked most," "disliked next as much," and average ability for high school courses are expressed by the correlation coefficients $.60 \pm .04$, $.49 \pm .04$, $.58 \pm .04$, and $.57 \pm .04$, when the data obtained from 150 high school seniors are considered. The relationship between interest and ability was found to become more variable and hence less reliable as the degree of interest considered moved from the extremes.

One of the ultimate measures of the vitality of the experiences gained in school is the extent to which the experiences lead to desirable interests and habits which endure into maturity. Interest and motivation are very closely related. It is well recognized by successful teachers that when work is properly motivated and based upon the interests of the subjects it appears easier to the student. When he is interested in

⁷ G. M. Blair: "Mentally Superior and Inferior Children in the Junior and Senior High School," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education*, No. 766, 1938. A splendid review of previous studies is given; it compares the interests and ambitions of junior and senior high school pupils who deviate in intelligence one standard deviation or more from the average.

⁸ E. L. Thorndike: "Early Interests: Their Permanence and Relation to Abilities," *School and Society*, 1917, 5, pp. 178-179.

⁹ B. O. Nemoitin: "Relation between Interest and Achievement," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1932, 16, pp. 59-73.

a task, his attention remains more nearly in the marginal context and does not fluctuate far from the general pattern. Interest tends to focus the attention within a marginal field and thus should be considered as selective in nature as well as a driving force. Since learning is so largely dependent upon the attentive response of the subject, one will find a direct relation existing between interest and amount of learning. Attitude, which is closely related to learning, has been studied by various investigators as to its effect on both amount and duration of learning. It has been shown that, when different attitudes are set up by different purposes, the same subject will exhibit marked differences in amount learned. It might be laid down as a fundamental proposition that "interest breeds ability and ability breeds interest." It would be utterly impossible to be interested in a task if one knew nothing whatsoever about it.

Despite the fact that interest is related to ability, it cannot be concluded that a subject is of especially high ability in some special line merely because of his interest in that line. In the first place, there is the question of individual variation: the subject might be more interested in this special line of endeavor than in any other activity, and have better ability in it than in most other fields, but still have very little ability because of a general deficiency. A boy is observed as displaying a keen interest in baseball, but this does not mean that he will be able to make the high school team. It will be much safer to predict that he will succeed better in baseball than in any other form of athletics; that is, he is quite likely more able to compete with a fair degree of success in this sport than in any other. There has indeed been some confusion in the drawing of conclusions concerning the relation between interest and ability. It is safer to consider the ability of the individual in the field of his intense interest in relation to his ability in other kindred activities, than to compare this ability with that of others displaying a less intense interest in this line.

Parents and teachers can do a great deal by showing appreciation of the desirable qualities, potentialities, and abilities of their children. However, they should also recognize their children's limitations, and not expect things of them beyond their possibilities. Gibby has given a detailed case history of a scholastically retarded boy that is typical of a great number of cases:

James was a poorly dressed boy of 14 years and 7 months. His face and hands were dirty and he was always in need of a haircut. He was 5 feet and 2 inches tall and weighed approximately 128 pounds; his muscular co-or-

dination, however, was not good. He is left-handed, and no efforts have ever been made to change this condition. He has no speech defects. His vision is poor and he wears glasses. According to the Stanford Revision of the Binet Test, he has a mental age of 7 years and 4 months. This would give him an IQ of 52. Upon the Ohio Literacy Test, James had a raw score of 0, which would give him a mental age of less than 5. From his reactions to other tests, it was quite obvious that he was sufficiently sub-normal to have very great trouble understanding directions, and that he had not developed the ability to read.

James thought that he was clever, and would usually answer questions that he didn't know by saying: 'I haven't learned that at school yet.' He would oftentimes look at the examiner and merely smile in response to questions. His ranking on Schedule A of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedule was in the 74th percentile, and his ranking for Schedule B was in the 99.9th, indications of a very serious maladjustment on his part. James has been a problem child to the school officials ever since he entered the school system. That is, he has been a problem in that the school officials have not known what to do with him. He did not manifest any serious behavior problem traits. He was ranked, at the time of this study, in the sixth grade; however, he had never actually passed the work equivalent to that of the first grade. In the school room he would remain quiet most of the time, but two or three times a day would burst into an uncontrollable laughter and clap his hands together several times. He attended school regularly, and was awarded a certificate of honor for this perfect attendance.

His arithmetic age was about 7 years, and he showed no ability to read. This is revealed in the following episode: "The letters A, B, C, D, and E were placed on the blackboard. James was told the name of each letter, and was drilled on them again and again. As long as the letters were in their proper order, he could repeat them correctly, pointing to each letter as it came; but just as soon as the sequence was changed, or he began with any other letter than the first, he was unable to distinguish the one from the other." His experiences with a pre-primer reader containing stories reveals further the nature of his reading: 'He was delighted to get the book, and told everyone that he was going to learn how to read. He came to school the next day, said that he had finished the book, and that he wanted another. Upon being asked to read the first story, James rattled it off correctly. He was praised for this and then asked to read the next two stories, which he also did correctly. However, upon being asked what the word "run" was, he responded with the word "baby." Questioning brought out the information that his grandmother had read the stories to him the evening before, and that she had read them to him so often that he had remembered them word for word.'

James is clearly a mentally retarded individual. He presents no serious behavior problems, but accepts blindly all rules and authority. His lack of muscular co-ordination makes it well-nigh impossible to train him for usefulness in most manual activities. Any work activities that he is ever able to

do will have to be carefully planned for him, and each stage supervised. He has not benefited from his enforced period of attendance of school for nine years by mastering reading and the other 'tool' subjects. He has thus far been kept from becoming a ward of the state at the expense of the inconvenience and trouble that it has cost the school to care for him. Because of the nature of his home conditions, which are at a very low level, he will likely become a ward of the state once he leaves school.¹⁰

The school and the expansion of interests. The schools offer the adolescent the opportunity, among other things, to expand his social contacts, to achieve status, and to prepare himself for a normal adult life. Not all adolescents can master academic subjects, but the majority can learn to live a reasonably normal life according to the training and influence the school implants within them.

The friendships made in school during this period have a marked bearing upon the shaping of character and personality and the stabilizing of adulthood. Records and charts show that such friendships are based primarily on common interests. This fact is illustrated in the activities of any adolescent one knows: the adolescent is obviously drawn toward a fellow athlete, musician, or craftsman. Moreover, the frequency of such associations will determine the duration of these interests, and here the school promotes recurring association by means of its many avenues of approach to these varied interests, in the form of extra activities not in the regular curriculum.

Loyalty, too, has its foundation in the school. At first this quality is directed toward the adolescent's classmates and teachers, but soon it embraces the entire school in the form of school spirit. The school does not complete its function when it merely *teaches* loyalty, honesty, and democracy; the real value of these lessons is realized only when they are put into practice in all the organizations of the school. The result proves to be a stepping-stone to good citizenship, through loyalty to community and, ultimately, loyalty to country. It is at this point that many activities taking place outside the classroom function most effectively. These activities have often been referred to as extracurricular in nature; there is, however, a distinct tendency to regard them as an important part of the school's program. Such activities have been classified in various ways. Hausle suggests a four division classification as follows: "(1) Athletics—interscholastic and intramural; (2) Clubs—subject, hobby, welfare, honorary; (3) Semi-cur-

¹⁰ R. G. Gibby: "A Clinical Study of Thirty-Two Scholastically Retarded Special-Class Boys," *Master's Thesis*, Ohio State University, 1939.

ricular activities—those for which a school may grant subject-credit; (4) Citizenship activities—service.”¹¹

The disregard for individual variation by our school system is the chief reason why so many students are constant failures, academically and emotionally. The mentally and physically inadequate (by school or society's standards) are all victims of constant failure in their ambitions. An adolescent is more sensitive than an adult to the inability to win some sort of acclaim in his actions. An adult can take pleasure in bowling or golf even if he is not too skillful; he soon realizes his limitations. The adolescent, on the other hand, always has a hope, more or less intense, of becoming a champion or a leader. It is more difficult for him, therefore, to accept his role and status in society. Competition and some measure of success temper the adolescent, since they give him facts and ideas that enable him to resolve and interpret his role.

The significance of the teacher. It is evident that today's educational standards require the teacher to be an informed, well-integrated, and far-seeing adult member of a community. It is no longer enough that the teacher be the possessor of knowledge. Today's teacher must be capable of setting up a desirable environment for learning. He is responsible for teaching pupils to respect one another's personalities, and to work and play co-operatively with others under restrictions and privileges established and maintained by majority will.

The classroom must be considered a social laboratory in which children learn to live with others co-operatively and harmoniously. It must be a place in which control evolves from within the group and is exercised for the welfare of the majority. The general atmosphere must be characterized by mutual understanding and mutual respect of pupil for pupil, pupil for teacher, and teacher for pupil.

Children have emotional needs that require particular attention and sympathetic understanding. Under the pressure of group action these needs become intensified and more complex in nature. Every child needs to feel his own worth and developing power. He needs recognition and encouragement. Only as he accepts and understands himself does he function at his best. Fears and inhibitions concerning himself and inability to direct his attention to external conditions detract from his well-being and happiness. The teacher must understand his need for recognition and so shape events that every pupil has suf-

¹¹ Eugenie C. Hausle: "Objectives of a Program of Extracurricular Activities in High School," *Recreation*, 1940, 34, p. 361.

ficient successful experience to insure in him a sense of his own security and worth. The teacher must have a sympathetic understanding of the behavior tendencies of different levels of ability and of what constitutes appropriate experiences for each level.

Again, it should be pointed out that human nature is not basically bad. Sometimes a group of individuals are badly trained and therefore act badly; that misbehavior is the result of the training imposed rather than of the nature of man. This thought further suggests that the responsibility of the teacher is not only a great but is also a very important one. Western civilization is characterized by its *dynamic* quality. This fact should constantly be kept in mind by those who are concerned with the organization, administration, and operation of our schools. It is well to note the trends that have been underway in administration and operation. By so doing one is in a better position to see the directions in which our schools and other institutions are now moving. If education is to function effectively and efficiently in producing citizens for a better world order, it is essential for those concerned with and responsible for the educational program to have certain fairly well-defined goals. As we look forward to the future and see the task that lies ahead, we are confronted with the general question as to whether we are holding a funeral over the age that has been, or a christening for the one to come. Certainly it would appear that we are passing into a new era—one that will make new and additional demands upon education.

Growth through participation. One of the greatest values of the school lies in its provision of a place where boys and girls are brought together and given the opportunity to participate in wholesome activities under the general guidance of teachers and counselors. There is evidence, on the basis of studies of this problem, that participation in the varied high school activities tends to promote understanding, co-operation, respect for others, and ability to work with them. In addition, such participation supplies certain felt needs of the adolescent and thus leads him to acquire a better-adjusted personality.

In the first place, adolescence is characterized by excess energy. This energy should be directed into wholesome activities, for its proper direction will supply certain needs of the adolescent and promote his growth and development. Among the needs satisfied through participation in athletics, clubs, social organizations, specialized groups, etc., are: (1) *The need to succeed.* A wide range of activities will provide for the expression of a wide range of talents and special abili-

ties, and thus provide practically all adolescents with the possibility of a reasonable amount of success. (2) *The need for belongingness*. By becoming a member of a special group and participating in their activities, the adolescent identifies himself with the group. (3) *The desire for social approval*. This is closely related to the satisfaction of the need for belongingness. (4) *The need for security*. The old adage, "In unity there is strength," applies here. As a member of a group who takes an active role in group activities, the individual comes to feel more secure and develops an increased confidence in himself and in his ability to do his part and play his role.

It is difficult to estimate the value of clubs, athletics, and socialized programs in our high schools, since the results derived from these are less tangible in nature than are results from textbooks. However, these activities take care of needs not satisfied by other agencies and conditions, and thanks to them the school offers adolescents the best opportunity for active participation in wholesome activities of a meaningful and satisfying nature.

A summary of principles. The solution of the economic, social, and civic problems of tomorrow will surely be affected by the program of education adopted today. The problem of individual variation in our secondary schools has become more acute as a result of (1) the increased enrollment in our schools, (2) the lengthened period of school life, and (3) the enlarged program of the schools. Diversified systems of education should provide opportunities for each child to develop his abilities and potentialities. The dull child, the neuropathic child, and the gifted child, alike, need individual consideration. The teacher who observes these variations and attempts to develop each child through social training and vocational guidance toward individual achievement will rightly conceive it the function of our schools today to provide more than academic training. The unitary concept of the growing adolescent, stressed in earlier chapters, must be held if the school is to perform its function. The importance of the school is well stated by Lois Meek:

Although the kind of home and community environment of boys and girls is a major cause of maladjustment, the school must remember that its own influence plays a large part in determining the child's development. Principals should recognize the fact that the school itself may be responsible for maladjustments in the youth it is supposed to serve. Among the school practices to be avoided are the following: mechanically applied systems of merits and demerits which finally engulf the wayward; course requirements

designed for the twenty per cent who are not interested; teachers who are utterly uncompromising with the very human nature of youth; lack of opportunity for students to participate in running the school community; subject matter for which pupils can see no use either now or later.¹²

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. List in order the factors you consider most important in the increased school enrollment.
2. Show from some case of your acquaintance how school success is not sufficient.
3. How would you account for the interests in school subjects presented in Table XVIII?
4. How are interests and abilities related? Illustrate.
5. How does the school aid in the expansion of interests? Illustrate.
6. Show how the teacher is the greatest asset and the greatest liability of the school.
7. What are some of the barriers to a desirable pupil-teacher relationship in school? (See especially the reference to Baxter's *Teacher-Pupil Relationships*.)

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¹² Lois Hayden Meek (Chairman): Committee on Workshops of the Progressive Education Association, *The Personal-Social Development of Boys and Girls with Implications for Secondary Education*. New York: Progressive Education Association, 1940, p. 141.

XII

The Adolescent Personality

It was pointed out in the previous chapter that, as the adolescent's circle of friends widens, so widen also the areas of his problems, needs, and interests; as he grows toward maturity, he comes into contact with people who are unwilling to humor his childlike, egocentric tendencies. Then, as he becomes more mature, he frees himself from many of the close home-ties and becomes more closely attached to various social groups and friends; loyalty, trustworthiness, sympathy, service to others, and other characteristics of man's social nature begin to develop into a fuller state. It is this change from the point of view of a self-centered individual to that of one who realizes the proper place of each individual in the life of the group that constitutes the essential social difference between the child and the adult. It is, then, at this time that personality change occurs, in harmony with the maturing of the social and physiological organism.

Personality defined. The term personality is one of the most frequently as well as loosely used in our present-day terminology referring to man's behavior and characteristics. It has been used widely and loosely by the layman, the personality expert, the orator, and the psychologist. The layman looks upon it in terms of qualifying adjectives such as "good," "pleasing," and "queer," whereas the personality expert considers it somewhat like a pair of gloves or a stylish hat—something that can be bought for five dollars or more and worn effectively with a few hints on how to wear it. Orators—and some psychologists—have clothed the term in a sort of mysticism and abstraction similar to that which surrounds the terms *ego*, *soul*, and *spirit*. In such a case it does not yield readily to definition or even to adequate description.

The concept of personality has a definite value in psychological terminology, and for the man-in-the-street it has not only a general theoretical value but a practical one. In order that students of adolescent psychology may have a more exact picture of personality, they should first realize that it is not something that can be imposed from without

and thus put on or taken off through some formal teaching-learning procedure. Conforming to conventional practices one may (1) give a list of traits or attributes that constitute personality and let these provide the basis for a definition or description; (2) define it in terms of its general function; or (3) omit all efforts at defining it but give a generalized treatment of it in the life and growth of growing individuals.

Although a few students of personality use the term to signify a group of personal qualities or traits, the majority of authorities use the term somewhat as it was early conceived, that is, to signify the whole person, body, mental qualities, emotions, character, voice, and habits. A definition that avoids a listing of traits and also steers clear of conceiving it in terms of *uniqueness* has recently been presented by Katz and Schanck.¹ This is as follows: "*Personality is the concept under which we subsume the individual's characteristic, ideational, emotional, and motor reactions and the characteristic organization of these responses.*" They point out in connection with this definition that such *characteristics* are more a function of the individual than of the immediate stimulating situation. This definition includes two items or characteristics that will be emphasized throughout the discussions of personality in this and subsequent chapters. These are (1) the fact that it includes the ideational, motor, and emotional elements and is a composite of all these traits; and (2) that it is not only a composite of all of these traits but is also a result of the organization of these responses along characteristic lines for that particular individual. This latter phase is emphasized in the discussion of the integration of traits.

Personality as an integration of traits. The personality of an individual depends not only upon the traits that he possesses but upon the integration of such traits. By integration is meant the general organization of traits into a larger unit of behavior, and with some traits becoming subordinate to others in such an organization. Personality, therefore, cannot be considered as so many separate traits; rather, the individual's personality is made up of a totality and pattern of such traits. Many people lose sight of the integrative nature of personality in their study of the individual, as is especially in evidence in the classification of all individuals with the same educational achievement as similar in personality. The same error is made with regard to criminals, professional classes, people of the same intelligence, and so forth.

¹ Reprinted by permission from *Social Psychology*, by Daniel Katz and R. L. Schanck, published by John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

It is only when two individuals have absolutely identical heredity, identical training, and identical organic conditions that one could expect various personality elements to be integrated into identical personality patterns.

How broad organic traits or behavior trends become is a problem both of physiology and of sociology. The complexity of habit patterns involving the higher levels of behavior will depend upon the integration of these various patterns into a general behavior pattern; the *Gestalt* school in Germany has emphasized certain aspects of behavior allied to this general problem. Few psychologists would affirm the complete isolation of behavior patterns from physiological and social relations; that habits become integrated into larger units of behavior has been emphasized throughout our discussion of the adolescent. More complex behavior patterns involving the social and biological life of the organism are to be regarded as constituting a higher level of organization more complex in nature than the simple behavior habits out of which they grow.

The growing nature of personality. Since adolescence is a period especially marked by physical, mental, and emotional changes, one can expect corresponding changes in the personality of the adolescent subject. During adolescence, mental maturity is reached. Physical growth, which was discussed in Chapter II, is rather rapid early in this period, but there are some rather abrupt organic changes involved. The thymus gland ceases to function; the sex glands begin to function; and thus a new endocrine balance is established. The child's egocentric nature thus takes on a social form, correlated with the changed endocrine self. The child is now held responsible for acts committed by the self; society looks upon the personality as a growing social force, and now sees not Smith's child but Mr. Smith's young daughter. The impression the growing individual makes upon others is therefore changing with the growing elements that contribute as a general configuration to personality.

Again, it is interesting to note the personality of an individual as we observe it in different situations. The writer has in mind a 14-year-old girl, whom for convenience we shall call Edna. She is very disobedient at home, especially in response to her mother's requests, and the mother thinks of her as "a little smarty." In the presence of her older sister in social situations Edna is quite submissive and timid, but with the boys and girls in the eighth grade at school Edna is quite sociable, and is liked by all. Not only do we notice different behavior

patterns when Edna is in three different situations, but even when she is "performing" in the presence of any one of these situations we shall likely notice an at least partial exhibition of these other personality characteristics. Thus, personality cannot be considered apart from the situation in which the various traits are exhibited. Some situations will call forth some traits, while another situation may call forth a very different pattern of traits. The combination of traits present in a particular situation will depend upon many variables, such as maturity, sex, habit systems, health, present attitude, general social pattern, and so forth.

Personality, therefore, is not a constant factor as presented from time to time or place to place. It is constantly growing and changing in harmony with physical, mental, and emotional developments. Watson says:

Naturally if personality is but a cross section at any given age of the complete organization of an individual, you can see that this cross section must change at least slightly every day—but not too rapidly for us to get a fair picture from time to time. Personality changes most rapidly in youth when habit patterns are forming, maturing and changing. Between 15 and 18 a female changes from a child to a woman. At 15 she is but the playmate of boys and girls of her own age. At 18 she becomes a sex object to every man. After 30 personality changes very slowly owing to the fact, as we brought out in our study of habit formation, that by that time most individuals, unless constantly stimulated by a new environment, are pretty well settled into a humdrum way of living. Habit patterns become set. If you have an adequate picture of the average individual at 30, you will have it with few changes for the rest of that individual's life—as most lives are lived. A quacking, gossiping, neighbor-spying, disaster-enjoying woman of 30 will be, unless a miracle happens, the same at 40 and still the same at 60.²

Contrasting phases of adolescent personality. Some elements characteristic of the personality of adolescents tend to make the individual unstable in nature; these elements are here referred to as "contrasting phases." The importance of the emotional elements in the development of personality has already been considered. Furthermore, it might be pointed out here that emotional habits are the important factors upon which we judge the personality of those closest and best known to us; these elements stand out much clearer in some than in other individuals.

² J. B. Watson: *Behaviorism*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1924, p. 223.

During the adolescent period some specific emotional characteristics are outstanding. Many drives of an instinctive or biological nature are held in restraint during adolescence because of various customs and other forces present in man's environment, but these become quite pronounced in other phases of the individual's life. G. Stanley Hall recognized the importance of emotion in adolescent life, and in one of his writings says:³ "Youth loves intense states of mind and is passionately fond of excitement." Here we find a true and valid expression of the contrasting states of vitality and lassitude so characteristic of adolescents. The attitude of carefree individuals seeking joy and the company of others for the sake of excitement characterizes their play, social interests, and activities. The true gang and team loyalty has already been described as characteristic of this age.

Pleasure and pain are sometimes close together; tears and laughter may closely follow each other; elation and depression also are somewhat characteristic of this period of life. Egocentrism and sociability, ascendancy and submissiveness, selfishness and altruism, radicalism and conservatism, heightened ambitions and loss of interest—these tend to mark off this period of life as one of contrasts in moods, which are manifested by a single individual in slightly different situations. These contrasting moods probably make it more difficult to predict an individual's behavior during adolescence than at any other single period. Individual reactions are more transitory and less stable than they are at later stages of life; different traits will predominate under slightly different conditions; and their changes are likely to be very marked. As the individual has more and more social experiences, his manners of reaction change and his personality characteristics are increasingly modified and made more stable.

Anyone who studies the problems of young people becomes familiar with these common manifestations of behavior. Here is an individual in whom habit patterns have not fully developed. Because of his lack of maturity, he is sometimes characterized as "flighty." His work in school is not altogether steady; his activities on the playground vary from time to time; his general attitude toward the school is often easily changed. Pride in dress is followed by extreme carelessness. While these particular sudden and extreme changes are the exception, the average adolescent has them to some degree. Bronner makes the following observation:

³ G. S. Hall: *Adolescence*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1904, Vol. 2, Chap. X.

Today's enthusiasms may become matters of boredom before long. The desire one day may be to become a missionary, and e'er long this has been completely forgotten and the goal of life is to be a dancer. Many an adolescent has said, "I don't know what I want to be. One day I think I want to be one thing and the next day something else, only I want to be someone great."⁴

Analyzing the cause of this changefulness, one again turns to the newly developed interests and broadened outlook of these boys and girls as they reach maturity and come into contact with social reality. These changes in outlook take place more rapidly than habit systems change, develop, and become integrated into a unified personality. We therefore find individuals not only with often inconsistent attitudes, beliefs, outlooks, and emotions, but also strikingly contrasting moods and attitudes toward situations or topics not wholly different in nature. Not all of these inconsistencies and contrasting phases of life are finally eliminated, but many are substantially eliminated as the personality becomes more and more integrated into a general schema.

Adolescent instability. The adolescent is said to be impulsive and unstable in nature. Emotional expression, as we have seen, is largely a matter of habit, and from such habits develop behavior patterns characteristic of extroversion or introversion. As attested by the pointless giggling, impulsiveness, yelling, loud talking, and other symptoms of instability, extroversion usually appears to be more universal than introversion, which is manifested in relation to new situations and intensified by newly forming habits of a social nature. Habits of introversion are especially in evidence in individuals who are reaching maturity with poorly developed social and emotional habits. With the awakened social consciousness, the new physiological nature, and the wider social contacts there is naturally good reason for disturbances.

The instability of adolescence is especially marked by contrasting personalities, heightened emotional behavior, religious enthusiasm, and juvenile behavior problems. Just how truly such conditions are a result of training is quite evident as we observe many adolescents with varying backgrounds who are socially well-adjusted, wholesome in attitude, courteous in manners, and stable in the exhibition of various habit systems. Far too many children, as they reach adolescence, are expected to assume the places of adults with only the training that would enable

⁴ A. F. Bronner: "Emotional Problems of Adolescence," *The Child's Emotions*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1930, p. 220.

them to follow authority blindly. These individuals have not been given the opportunity for the development of habits of initiative and responsibility so essential in the ordinary pursuits of adult life; they are "too young" to do the things adults are doing and "too old" to act and play as children do. For many individuals this is, therefore, a period of bewilderment. If the individual desires to run and play the "kid-like" games, he is laughed at; if he offers his advice and counsel too freely to the adult group, he is reminded that he is still a child. Probably most persons soon pass through this transition and are able to establish themselves and their place in the social order. Naturally, a sort of training that will enable the individual to adjust his earlier habit patterns to those of the adult group will aid him to develop desirable social habits and attitudes. If the specific elements of the adolescent personality do not develop desirably, we should then search his past—or present—experience for the causes.

An analysis of needs and conditions of adolescence shows that the individual, though physically reaching the stage of maturity, is compelled to delay the natural expression of certain drives now coming to play a large part in his everyday activities. Civilization has made it necessary that the training period of life be lengthened, but human biological development still proceeds at the rate of earlier times. At adolescence the individual is not established as a stable member of society. His habit systems, as was pointed out earlier, are in a formative stage; many of them are still unrelated and the process of generalization has not as yet carried over into broader social experience. His natural drives, which up to this period have found a greater freedom of outlet, are checked and modified by the great social organization in which he finds himself. Hence, the generally confusing and conflicting situations to which he must adjust himself often lead to certain forms of instability. However, we are not to despair of adolescents, since, out of this medley of circumstances and conditions, develop the age of youth and adulthood. Thompson says of this:

The young person reared in a society which increasingly demands that he follow in an imitative manner its exemplar behaviors, expressed as tenderness, affection, and courteousness; cruelty, discontent, and hatred; emotional stability and a temper which is defensively rebellious; independence of and yet willingness to sacrifice himself for the group at large; a progressive interest in the opposite sex, regardless of the restraining taboos, maturing in marriage; and an insistence on individual financial success; these and a score of other similar behaviors make up the continuous barrage of traumatic experiences which assail the maturing individual. Out of this the individual

resolves whatever problems afford him an accepted place in society and by so doing enters into adulthood with an integrated personality.⁵

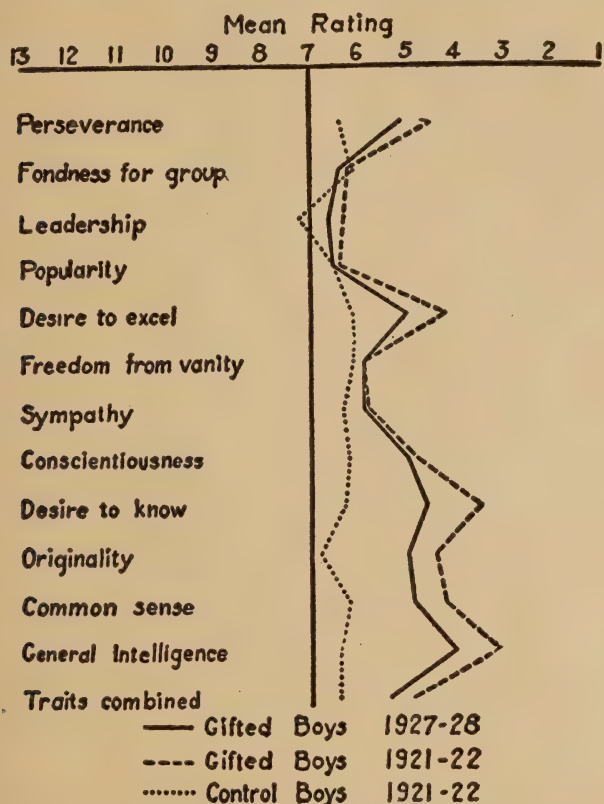
Personality traits of the gifted. In the work of Terman and his collaborators we find sufficient experimental evidence to indicate that intelligence precocity is not in any manner an indication by itself of an antisocial or negative or undesirable personality. While all of the data are not wholly objective—a fact which is recognized by Terman and his co-workers—they are quite significant. There is a rather common notion that most geniuses are “freaks” or are unstable in nature. These opinions have been arrived at inductively from a few observations of either one or several particular geniuses who were more or less atypical, and thus all people of genius are judged as of a comparable type. The studies mentioned above show very clearly that if one attempts to make even a careful subjective analysis of evaluation of the personality traits of gifted children, these children will obtain personality ratings above the average for other children of the same general status. A still more careful analysis of this group of exceedingly gifted children reveals comparisons that are rather interesting and valuable in understanding better their personality traits.

In the study made by Terman and his collaborators the question, “Is the child considered by others as ‘queer’ or ‘different’?” was answered by boys’ teachers in the negative 95 per cent of the time for the control group and 88 per cent of the time for the superior, or 5 per cent *yes* for the control and 12 per cent *yes* for the superior. For the control and gifted groups of girls corresponding percentages were 95 and 93 for *no* and 5 and 7 for *yes*. If we take these answers as valid, we find a slightly larger percentage of gifted than of non-gifted individuals considered “queer,” but normality is dominant in the gifted group for both boys and girls. In the follow-up of the reasons assigned for rating the gifted children as “queer” or “different,” it was found about 50 per cent of the boys and 25 per cent of the girls had been so judged because they were “brighter,” “knew more,” or “acted more mature.” Such answers merely indicate that a large percentage of these gifted children were judged “queer” or “different” simply because they possessed superior intelligence, rather than because of some deviated personality trait noticeable in strange or awkward behavior.

Comparisons are presented in Figures 9 and 10 in which teachers

⁵ Charles E. Thompson: “The Personality of the Teacher as It Affects the Child,” *The Educational Forum*, 1942, 6, p. 264.

have rated various groups on a thirteen-point graphic-rating scale⁶ for 12 different traits. In these figures the gifted group for 1927-1928 comprises the same subjects as those rated in 1921-1922. In order to say how far a gifted child excels the average child of his age in some specific character trait, one must compare his rating with those of the control group. Again, it is of especial interest to note that gifted children, after



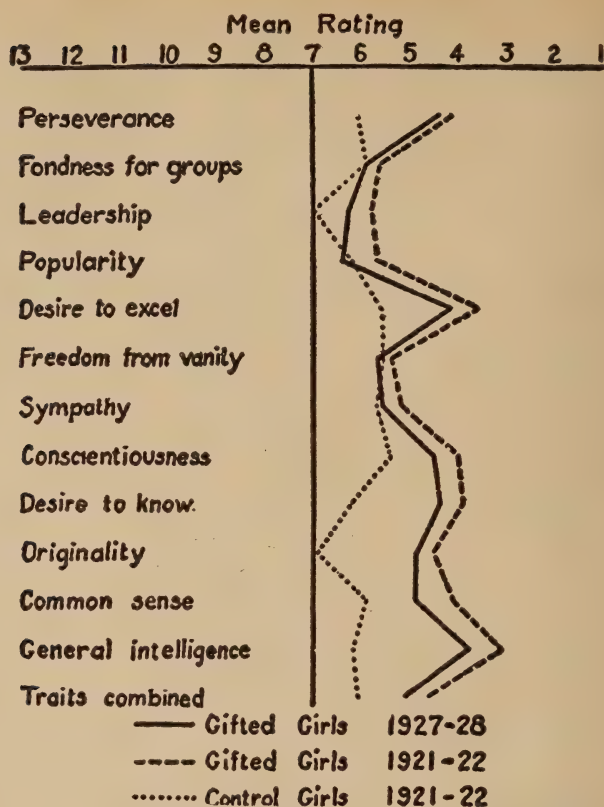
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FIG. 9. Teachers' rating of boys on twelve traits. (Terman, 1930.)

a period of six years, still maintain a rather distinct superiority over the control group in the traits "perseverance," "desire to excel," "conscientiousness," "originality," "desire to know," and "general intelligence."⁷ The general superiority of the gifted group is very similar for boys and girls, although this does not imply that gifted boys are more effeminate than the average—a rather widespread assumption. There is

⁶ On this scale 13 was the lowest (poorest rating); 1 was the highest (best).

⁷ Terman: *op. cit.*, Chap. X.



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FIG. 10. Teachers' rating of girls on twelve traits.

some evidence, not wholly scientific, that gifted boys and girls often have heightened interests of the same general type, especially in intellectual activities.

ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENTS

Every individual has adjustment problems, for it has been said that "Life is a continual process of adjustment, it is an incessant round of give and take." There are, of course, varying degrees in the intensity of conflicts which arise. Perhaps the most important means of developing a wholesome personality in the adolescent is to maintain in that child feelings of *adequacy* and *value*. The adolescent meets many situations which tend to produce feelings of futility, inadequacy, and uselessness. If each time a child attempts to react he is criticized by his elders, teased by his associates, actually restrained by some obstacle stronger than he is, or made to suffer pain with each movement, he will

be tempted to relax his efforts—to feel inadequate and useless. He must have enough successful experiences to offset the unfavorable ones if he is to develop a balanced personality. When the attention of the adolescent, or younger child, is called to his inadequacies, positive suggestions for overcoming them should be given. The recognition of previous ineffectiveness should be a stimulus to better adjustment.

Studying personality adjustments. To complete our picture of how one individual differs from another in intelligence and the special abilities, it is necessary to present an account of the measurement of those traits more closely identified with personality in the special sense of the word. A group of personality traits of interest to the pupil is revealed in his adjustments to each of the various aspects of his environment, school life, home surroundings, state of health, social groups, and contacts of all kinds.

A rather satisfactory and simple method employed in measuring the adjustments of the personality to various situations and conditions is the *psychological inventory*. According to this procedure the subject is given a large list of questions about various aspects of his behavior traits. These are arranged so that they must be answered "yes," "no," or "doubtful." An inventory devised by H. M. Bell⁸ for use with high school pupils provides for four specific measures of personal and social adjustment. These are:

HOME ADJUSTMENT. Individuals making high scores are considered as living unhappy home lives, while those making low scores are revealed as happy and adjusted in their home environment.

HEALTH ADJUSTMENT. Individuals with high scores are frequently aware of symptoms of illness. Individuals with low scores indicate very few symptoms of ill health.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT. High scoring individuals tend to be submissive and retiring in their social contacts, while low scoring individuals are aggressive in their social relations.

EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENT. Individuals making high scores are revealed as unusually timid and self-conscious. Their feelings are easily hurt and they are inclined to worry to an excess. Those making low scores have indicated that they enjoy active associations with other people. They have few worries and are not self-conscious in the presence of others.

⁸ H. M. Bell: *The Adjustment Inventory*. Stanford University, Calif.: The Stanford University Press, 1934. Other adjustment inventories which are being widely used today are: *California Test of Personality*, *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory*, *A Test of Personality Adjustment* (Rogers), and *Washburne Social Adjustment Inventory*.

Bridges, in a "stimulating study," using the Woodworth questionnaire on college students, concluded that college students show poorer adjustments than the general population.⁹ He found that the typical student psychoneurosis was an anxiety neurosis, the most frequent symptoms of which were disturbed sleep, worry, irritability, perseveration of ideas, and self-consciousness. (This investigation showed that for college students, psychasthenia and the major psychoses were rare.) McLaughlin found that the resulting evidence from tests of this type which have been given to high school and college students indicates that "not only are there a number of students in imminent need of psychiatric service, but there is also a large group of incipient cases of maladjustment which sooner or later must have recourse to clinical help if they are to be saved from more serious mental disorders."¹⁰

Remmus, Whistler, and Duwald¹¹ found the items here listed as most valid in ascertaining maladjustments at the adolescent level:

Do you often feel just miserable?

Do you get discouraged easily?

Do you often find that you cannot make up your mind until the time for action has passed?

Do you worry over possible misfortunes?

Does some particular useless thought keep coming into your mind to bother you?

Do you have difficulty making friends?

Does your mind often wander badly so that you lose track of what you are doing?

Do you often have bad pains in any part of your body?

Do you get tired of work quickly?

Do you often experience periods of loneliness?

Do you daydream frequently?

Since all the above items have high diagnostic value, a list of this kind should be very serviceable in making a preliminary analysis of maladjustments existing among adolescents. Such maladjustment questionnaires promise to be of great service in identifying, by survey methods, those adolescents whose maladjustment with certain phases of

⁹ J. W. Bridges: "Emotional Instability in College Students," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1927, 22, pp. 227-234.

¹⁰ Sister Mary Aquinas McLaughlin: "The Genesis and Constancy of Ascendence and Submission as Personality Traits," *University of Iowa Studies in Education*, 1930-1932, 6, No. 5, p. 11.

¹¹ H. H. Remmus, L. Whistler, and V. F. Duwald: "'Neurotic' Indicators at the Adolescent Level," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1938, 9, pp. 17-24.

their surroundings is serious enough to warrant further individual counsel and advice.

Adjustments of boys and girls. Interesting differences were found by Bell in the responses of boys and girls to certain social adjustment questions on the Adjustment Inventory.¹² High school boys gave significantly more maladjusted responses than did high school girls to the following social situations: enjoying social gatherings, meeting important people, introducing people at a party, enlivening a dull party, asking help of others, making plans for others, making contacts with opposite sex, speaking in public, leading at a social affair, and making friends easily. On the other hand, high school girls gave more maladjusted responses than did high school boys to these social situations: afraid to speak out in class, fear of public speaking, timidity at important dinners, self-consciousness before people, avoiding calling attention to oneself, hesitancy to ask favors, and conversational difficulty with strangers. A generalization from these findings indicates that boys are more aggressive in social situations but have little interest in them. Girls appear to have greater interest in social groups but are more submissive by nature in social situations.

In so far as the *Thurstone Personality Schedule* measures maladjustments, high school girls—particularly sophomores and juniors—were found in the study of Remmus, Whisler, and Duwald¹³ to be more maladjusted than boys. The fact that the greatest maladjustment is present in the sophomore and junior years indicates that these are years during which the girls are in the midst of the adjustment process. At this period they are probably faced with more new and difficult problem situations requiring social adjustments and direction of social drives than at an earlier or later period. The differential motivating influences exerted by different environmental stimuli form the most plausible explanation for the greater maladjustments among the girls. For example, the ideal of beauty and sex attraction looms larger in the life of the girl. She has fewer vocational outlooks but a greater interest in winning the approval of members of the opposite sex. The subterfuge outlets for drives, the greater socialization, and the more frequent thwarting and blocking of the drives of the girl are influential factors in affecting her maladjustments.

Intelligence and adjustments. The comparisons of behavior at differ-

¹² H. M. Bell: *The Theory and Practice of Personal Counseling*. Stanford University, Calif.: The Stanford University Press, 1939, p. 113.

¹³ H. H. Remmus, L. Whisler, and V. F. Duwald: *op. cit.*

ent levels of intelligence indicate that children with average mentality are better adjusted than children who are either brighter or duller. This is to be expected in a world where the environment is adapted to the average level of mentality. Though Terman reported only 11.9 per cent of unselected school children to have intelligence quotients above 115, Anderson found 17.3 per cent of the children at a child-guidance clinic at that level. Similarly, Terman found that 11.2 per cent of unselected school children have intelligence quotients below 85; in the child-guidance clinic 20.3 per cent were in that group. An examination of Anderson's data indicates that among the deviations from normal intelligence in either direction there was an increase in the per cent of cases of problem behavior. (See Table XIX.)¹⁴ Some types of discipline

TABLE XIX

A COMPARISON OF THE INTELLIGENCE OF CHILDREN
REFERRED TO A CHILD-GUIDANCE CLINIC AND OF
UNSELECTED SCHOOL CHILDREN

I.Q.	TERMAN'S 1,000 UNSELECTED SCHOOL CHILDREN	320 CHILD- GUIDANCE CLINIC PROBLEM CHILDREN	65 JUVENILE COURT DELINQUENTS
125 and over.....	2.9	10.7	0
115-124.....	9.0	6.6	1.5
105-114.....	23.1	18.6	6.0
95-104.....	33.9	22.2	20.0
85-94.....	20.1	21.6	35.0
75-84.....	8.6	11.6	26.0
Below 75.....	2.6	8.7	11.0

problems somewhat common among the gifted are: (1) disorderly discussion in classroom, (2) expression of disappointment at not being heard, (3) egotism, and (4) indolence. It is interesting to note that while the gifted often become problem children, they are not so often satisfactorily registered among the juvenile delinquents, indicating that some sort of adjustment is usually made.

Likewise, the subnormal group presents an abundance of maladjustments. The materials dealing with juvenile delinquency show that offenses are committed more frequently by those of inferior intelligence, than by those of average or superior mental ability. This is to be expected, since in the first place those of inferior intelligence are not

¹⁴ R. G. Anderson: "The Problem of the Dull-Normal Child," *Mental Hygiene*, 1927, 11, pp. 272-286.

mentally equipped to assimilate and generalize ideals. Again, this group is usually made up of failures in the school program and thus finds opportunities for escape, adventure, and success in acts of mischief and crime. Probably the most serious result of school failure lies in its effects on the developing personality and character. Defeated and discouraged, failures resort to other activities, and develop out-of-school and all too often unwholesome attitudes toward society. They have learned thoroughly, through experience, the "opportunistic doctrine." They take advantage wherever they can—of each other, the school, and the world outside. Their lot in life can only be that of the hewers of wood and drawers of water in the ranks of unskilled labor. Today, however, as the machine gradually displaces the unskilled worker, the individual developing as a failure in school life will not likely be prepared to play a significant role in the world of work.

Home adjustments. An item analysis of the Home Adjustment of the Bell Inventory brought out the following significant differences between boys and girls:

The high school boys had experienced a desire to run away from home more often than the high school girls. The high school girls were more irritated than were the boys by the following home conditions: their parents' personal habits, favoritism among parents, feeling of fear toward their parents, conflicting love and hate for parents, parents with violent tempers, and parents criticizing their appearance.¹⁵

The study by Stott¹⁶ dealt with rural boys and girls (adolescents) from high schools in Nebraska. By means of personality scales and a home-life questionnaire he gathered data on the effects of certain factors in home life on personality adjustments.

The differences in home-life conditions between well-adjusted and poorly adjusted boys and girls (in terms of test scores on an adjustment test) are presented in Figure 11. According to the home items rated positively, the characteristics of successful farm family life measured by the personal adjustment of boys were, in order of their significance, as follows: (1) an attitude of welcome on the part of parents toward the boy's friends in the home, (2) no recent punishment, (3) a minimum of nervousness manifested in mother, (4) frequently having enjoyable times together in the home as a family group, engaging in

¹⁵ H. M. Bell: *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Leland H. Stott: "The Relation of Certain Factors in Farm Family Life to Personality Development in Adolescents," *Agriculture Experiment Station Research Bulletin*, No. 106, 1938, pp. 40-41.

such activities as playing games, telling stories or singing, and playing instruments, (5) relatively little illness of mother. The items characteristic of successful family life as viewed by girls' adjustments were as follows: (1) no recent punishment, (2) a confidential relationship with the father, (3) an attitude of welcome in parents toward the girl's

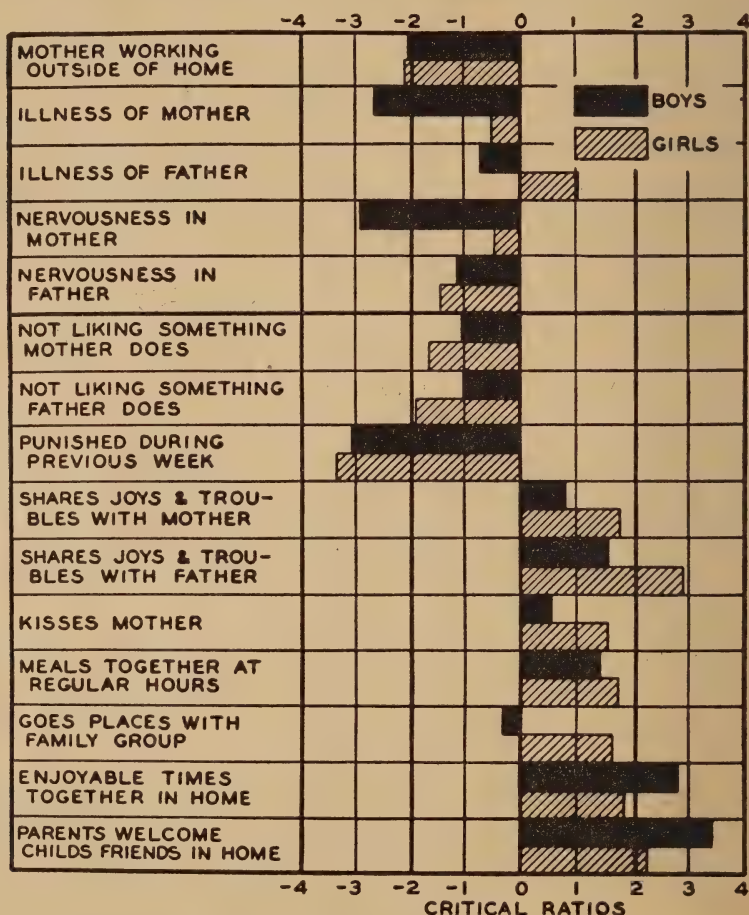


FIG. 11. Differences in home life conditions of well-adjusted and poorly adjusted rural boys and girls.

friends in the home, and (4) a minimum of participation of the mother in the work outside the home.

These findings are related to and in harmony with the materials presented in Chapter IX dealing with adolescent weaning. Parental conflicts are not new, but when vast social and economic changes are being wrought, the conflicts between the older and younger generations will

be much greater. It was pointed out earlier that the causes of home maladjustments are many and varied. When these have been studied and efforts directed to eradicate them through a well-planned co-operative program, much has been accomplished.

The study by Brown¹⁷ dealt with the problem of determining whether children who lived in the more stable environment of an orphans' home manifest more neurotic tendencies than those who reside with their parents. The Brown Personality Inventory for Children was administered to 200 orphans' home children of both sexes. A comparison group consisting of 200 boys and girls selected at random were likewise given the inventory, and comparisons were made between these results and those obtained from the children of the orphans' home. The results indicated a greater neuroticism among institution children. However, a comparison "with children of low socio-economic status whose parents contribute heavily to the population of institutions reveals a similarity between the two. Socio-economically inferior children living at home resemble the institutional children when compared for neurotic traits." It appears likely, therefore, that the greater presence of neuroticism among institutional children is a result of the environmental conditions from whence they came rather than the institutional environment.

THE MALADJUSTED

What is a deviated personality? When the child is referred to the school principal, to a habit clinic, or to other agencies for the general consideration and correction of behavior traits, we have proof at least that he appears to deviate from the normal in his personality traits. The deviated personality stands in general opposition to the normal personality. When the individual varies markedly from the established order in which he happens to be placed, he presents a case of personality deviation.

Each individual is a product of various forces, biological and social. In some cases and for some traits in particular, deviations in personality are due to faulty hereditary conditions; yet in the great majority of cases of deviations—and this is especially true if the behavior qualities are in the main involved—the social setting of an individual plays a large role as a causal factor. It is a well-recognized fact that neither inheritance nor environment tells the whole story, as has been em-

¹⁷ Fred Brown: "Neuroticism of Institution Versus Non-Institution Children," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1937, 21, pp. 379-383.

phasized throughout our study of the development and general characteristics of adolescent boys and girls. Some specific ratio cannot be given so that one can say "this amount is due to heredity" and "that amount to environment"—as has frequently been done. In many cases of personality deviation, the environment is almost wholly at fault, while in others there is an abundance of evidence that heredity is mainly at fault. Efforts have been made to ascribe all personality difficulties to defective intelligence, but it is well borne out by various studies that defective intelligence is only one phase of the story and that frequently persons of superior ability suffer from personality difficulties.

Faulty behavior patterns. Undesirable behavior patterns should first of all be considered in terms of the growth of behavior units. We have noted that behavior units grow out of previous experiences and thus become habitual through use. Now behavior patterns are judged as desirable or undesirable in accordance with whether or not they are in agreement with the mores of the social group, and they can probably best be classified in two divisions. These are sometimes given as major or minor in nature, but if the individual is considered, it becomes evident that such a division is not a true one. In classifying undesirable behavior patterns probably the best distinction to use is that of the self and the group. Those in terms of the group may be considered anti-social, and include such activities as injury to others, stealing, lying, truancy, and running away from home. Those of an individualistic nature are excess temper tantrums, various idiosyncracies of an individualistic type, nervous habits, and appetitive habits.

Delinquency and adjustment. Materials will be presented in some of the subsequent chapters showing that there is a close relation between emotional maladjustments and delinquency. In the studies reported by Bell,¹⁸ high school boys gave significantly more maladjusted answers than delinquent boys to such social situations as the following: enjoying social gatherings, meeting people socially, introducing people, leading parties, engaging in conversation, asking for help, making plans for others, making contacts with girls, speaking in public, enjoying dancing, making friends, and being the center of attention at a party. Delinquent boys gave more maladjusted responses than normal high school boys to these emotional situations: frightened when going to a doctor, discouraged easily, sorry for things done, feelings easily hurt, worry over misfortunes, disturbed by criticism, upset easily, and bothered by useless thoughts. Delinquent girls gave more maladjusted

¹⁸ H. M. Bell: *op. cit.*, p. 115.

responses than normal girls on the question dealing with discouragement, the one on nervousness, and the one on being easily upset. Delinquent girls gave more maladjusted answers than delinquent boys with respect to the following home conditions: parents who expect too much of them, dominating mother, demand for complete obedience, fear of parents, quarrels at home, home conflicts, and divorce in the home.

The question may be raised: Who are the maladjusted among the juveniles? The answer was fully given by Averill a few years ago, when he stated:

Within the juvenile range of the maladjusted fall all those children whose personalities have encountered thwarting, rebuff, insecurity, belittlement, or overpowering discouragement from whose malign and poisoned influence they have been unable to extricate themselves. Prominent among these types is the so-called "problem" child who by reason of some insuperable inner urge or some equally insuperable environmental example, suggestion, or compulsion, has constructed certain reaction patterns that are in conflict with parent, teacher, mate, gang, or with society itself. In the broad ranks of the "problem" children are found the lazy, the disobedient, the dishonest, the wayward, the "bad," the over-emotional, the incorrigible, and all others who depart strikingly from the universally accepted and expected conduct of children.

Maladjusted children include also among their numbers the over-age boy, who is forced to spend more years in the schoolroom than his swifter fellows, and who in consequence develops bitterness and rebellion of spirit; the school "failure," who may represent quite as likely the end-product of an ineffectual educational machine that has disregarded his bents, interests, and individuality, in its blind output of a mass product, as it does defective raw material introduced into the hopper at the outset; the nervous child, whose home atmosphere may be sufficiently irritating or disquieting to make over an otherwise stable personality into an extremely unstable one; the definitely delinquent child, whose crimes are but an expression of the molding forces that press upon him, rather than the evil machination of an evil purpose within him; and a host of other boys and girls who look out upon life as through a glass darkly.¹⁹

Failure in socialization. Deviated personalities begin to be observed to a large degree as the individual makes wider social contacts; the adolescent's physiological development, new contacts, heightened emotions, and enlarged mental life create a new self, and this new self seeks an expression which needs sympathetic guidance if it is to develop

¹⁹ Lawrence A. Averill: "Mental Hygiene: A New Evangel," *School and Society*, 1935, 41, p. 126.

along desirable lines. Extreme introversion and daydreaming or anti-social tendencies are quite likely to arise when there is a failure in the socialization process.

In connection with the importance of the environmentally maladjusted we have the following utterance from Dr. Esther L. Richards:

It is in dealing with the temperamentally handicapped child that formal education shows the weakest side of its system. The sagging of child and adolescent in his school performance is too often treated as an ethical lapse of conduct instead of a symptom to be studied and interpreted.²⁰

While withdrawing, recessive personality traits may be serious from the viewpoint of mental health, it should be realized that the possession of certain aggressive types of conduct may also seriously handicap an adult in making adjustments. Ellis and Miller point this out when they state:

Present standards of society impose requirements for certain types of behavior and exact retribution from transgressors. Offenders who steal are in serious difficulty (if caught). The person who violates these standards of social conduct certainly is handicapped in his success in making adjustments to the social group. Such traits as impudence, impertinence, and temper outbursts are frowned on in adult society, and the person who habitually exhibits them is unpopular with his associates and finds difficulty in making happy adjustments in his contacts with society.²¹

With growth into adolescence occurs the first stage of the development of such habit systems as, when carried to an extreme, will bring the individual into direct conflict with the rules and regulations imposed by the social group. With the onset of such social conflicts we have a mental-hygiene case or a case of delinquency—a case of undesirable behavior, growing directly out of earlier failures in social adjustment. Earlier failures have many and varied causes depending upon the inherent qualities of the individual, the peculiarities in the situation, and the habit systems established earlier in life. Moreover, since their growth is gradual and continuous, habit patterns tend to become integrated into larger units, thus creating a specific type of disposition or attitude. It is therefore difficult to say at just what point in the life of the adolescent the wrong elements developed and became integrated into larger units.

²⁰ Esther L. Richards: "What Is Dementia Praecox?" *The Journal of Pediatrics*, 1932, 2, p. 51.

²¹ D. B. Ellis and L. W. Miller: "Teachers' Attitudes and Child Behavior Problems," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1936, 27, p. 508.

*Mechanisms of personality adjustment.*²² A number of theories have been presented regarding the mechanisms of personality adjustment, the most important of which are the following:

1. The compensatory mechanism. This is based on the inferiority-complex theory presented by Adler, in which it is pointed out that every individual sooner or later senses his inferiorities, real or imagined, and tends to compensate for them. Some people are able to compensate in desirable and others in socially undesirable ways. The degree of compensatory behavior depends upon the intensity of basic conflicts and upon the ability to find modes of expression that are socially acceptable. The compensatory mechanism is seen most clearly in certain types of the neurotics. The question may be projected whether every person who makes an intense effort to gain an education, to develop a talent, or to accumulate excessive property is utilizing the compensatory mechanism. If this view is accepted as correct, every student who pursues an academic education despite economic and social difficulties must be compensating for some real or imagined inferiority.

2. The evasion (escape) mechanism. Just as some psychologists hold to the theory that the compensatory mechanism forms the central drive in man's behavior, so others believe that an individual's behavior centers around the evasive process. Numerous examples can be given of evasion methods commonly used by children and adolescents. Temper tantrums, sulking, neurotic pains, and fears are utilized by children in their efforts to evade unpleasant tasks. Older children use more complicated and subtle methods of evasion. The adolescent failing in his school work may use the rationalization process by insisting on entering more practical situations and pointing out that such a type of education is superior to the work of the school. Forgetting, sickness, and even sleep have been suggested as procedures used in the evasion process. An illustration of the operation of this is presented by Sherman:

The boy had serious sex conflicts which increased his feeling of insecurity. These problems apparently were the cause of his flight into abnormality. His parents had never discussed questions of sex with him, had never given him any sex information, and disapproved of discussion of such topics. At the age of thirteen when his curiosity was intensely aroused, he had no one to ask for explanations or information. He was forced to solve his problems without help. Having a sense of guilt, he began to blame others for his deficiencies, to think boys did not like him and that the teachers

²² Adapted from Mandel Sherman: *Mental Hygiene and Education*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1934, Chap. IV.

discriminated against him. His paranoid ideas were not fully systematized because they did not sufficiently justify his supposed inferiorities. He then unconsciously attempted to solve his difficulties by withdrawing from normal social contacts into a world of phantasy in which he felt secure because he had no need to compare himself with others, to compete with others economically or socially, to wonder what others thought of him, his progress or his future. In his new phantasy world he felt completely at ease.²³

3. The defense mechanism. Any attempt to separate the defense process from the compensation procedure meets with great difficulty. Neurotic and mentally abnormal individuals utilize defense mechanisms more extensively than normal persons in their attempts to adjust their difficulties. Compensatory behavior is usually present also when defense mechanisms are being used. A very common method of defense is a critical attitude toward others. The writer is acquainted with a college professor who is of distinctly mediocre ability and excessively prejudiced. This person is the first to criticize others for any statements they make or for any phase of their conduct. Intense interests and hobbies also are often means of defense.

Summary. In all the various definitions of personality there appears, first, the notion of a *totality* of elements; then, in the second place, a general recognition of the *interrelation* of these various elements into a unified pattern. Furthermore, there is emphasis upon the *interaction* of these elements in the relationship between the individual subject and other persons. The totality may be made up of an abundance of some traits, other traits being lacking. Again, there may be a lack of harmonious interrelation of traits—conflicting values, or actually conflicting traits. Or, there may be a breakdown in the desirable interaction of the individual's personality traits and the characteristics of others. The latter is sometimes referred to as "personality clashes."

Since the period of adolescence is one in which the personality traits are developing and finding expression in many directions, it becomes a period fraught with many problems and difficulties. It might be stated as a fundamental principle that, *any period in life in which there is an undue physiological, social, or emotional stress for which the individual is not prepared, is a period at which mental abnormalities may and do appear, or at which those already in existence become more socially significant.*

The individual who is reared in a wholesome, normal environment, who is not the constant victim of futile social conventions and taboos,

²³ Mandel Sherman: *op. cit.*, p. 257.

and who is neither unduly petted and pampered nor driven to constant emotional exaltations by the whims and whines of those in authority, will most likely adjust himself to the new conditions of adolescence. He will have developed such mental and emotional patterns of behavior that adjustments to the complexities of life are made without his having to recondition or modify to any great degree previously established habit patterns.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Distinguish between a *description* and a *diagnosis* of personality disorder. Illustrate.
2. Give illustrations of the operation of each of the mechanisms of personality adjustment listed on pages 197 and 198.
3. If conditions are favorable, administer some such test as the *Bell Adjustment Inventory* to some high school pupil or out-of-school youth. Choose one who presents some adjustment problems. Analyze the results obtained from the test. Of what value would such data be to the counselor?
4. Using some case with which you are familiar, show how intelligence may be a factor in adjustment.
5. Why is the adolescent period so open to conflicts?
6. Define "instability." What are some behavior reactions characteristic of instability?

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XIII

Juvenile Delinquency

Universality and normality of delinquency. Every individual, so far as this writer knows, could have his personality classified as antisocial at some period or periods of his life. And if these negative personalities form a class, then the class is universal in scope. It is rather unfortunate that students of human behavior are constantly taking the "they" attitude in referring to antisocial personalities. The "we" attitude would be more nearly correct. A careful analysis will show that some of these personalities are more antisocial in their display of behavior patterns than are others; yet the estimate of antisocial tendencies on the basis of court records is far from accurate. It often becomes a matter of who was caught. It may further be a matter of what type of antisocial tendencies is most easily detected.

Dr. Karpman, of St. Elizabeth Hospital, Washington, D. C., presents a definition of crime that is worthy of consideration in connection with our study of juvenile delinquency. He says:

I should, therefore, like to speak of crime as a piece of aberrant social behavior that goes against the better interests of society as developed by society's best elements. . . . Thus conceived, it would be very difficult to say where proper social behavior ends and antisocial behavior begins, and equally where antisocial behavior imperceptibly shades into behavior that obviously cannot be recognized as anything but criminal.¹

It has already been pointed out that antisocial individuals are not of some special type. Probably no group of people has more truly human desires or natural yearnings than inmates of some of our penal institutions. They do not differ in kind from us; at most they differ in certain manifestations. Thus, after one is able to see the real child who is hiding behind a cloak of delinquency which he has thrown about himself, consciously or unconsciously, as a protest against environmental circumstances or to protect himself against hazards imposed upon him,

¹ Ben Karpman: "Crime and Adolescence," *Mental Hygiene*, 1937, 21, p. 390.

one will find an abundance of real humanity and willingness to respond to decent treatment given in the correct manner and spirit.

Children in the courts. Data on children brought before the courts in 1939 will give a more accurate picture of juvenile crime under normal conditions than will data during or immediately following World War II. There were 83,758 delinquent cases disposed of by 473 courts,

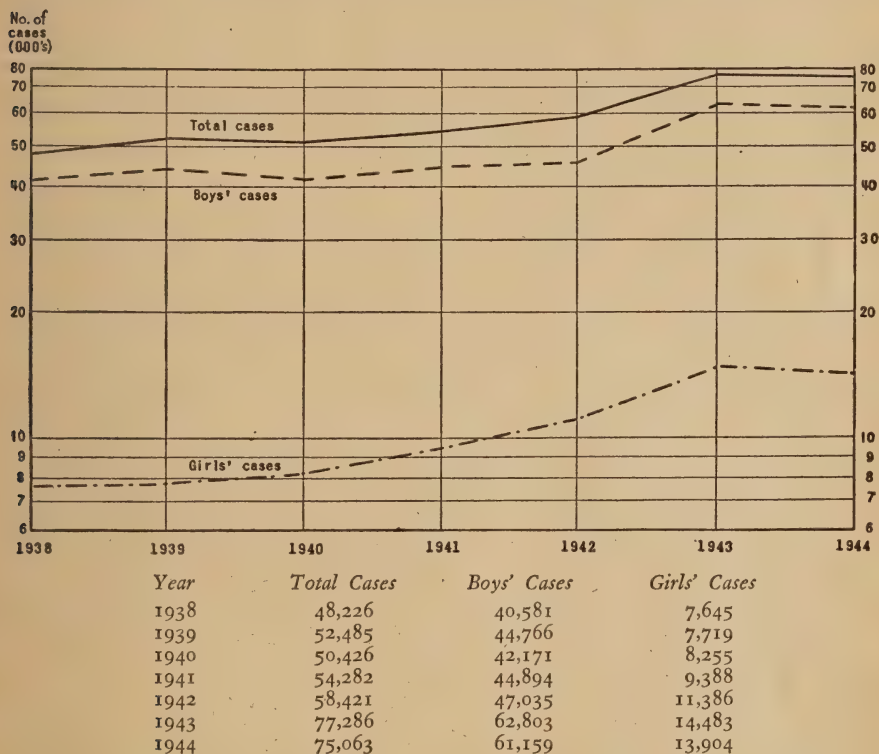


FIG. 12. The number of juvenile delinquency cases disposed of by courts serving areas with populations of 100,000 or more, 1938-1944. (Ratio chart.)

serving areas representing 38 per cent of the total population of the United States. Native white children were involved in 61 per cent of the cases for which race was reported, foreign or mixed white parentage children in 15 per cent, Negro children in almost 21 per cent, and children of other races in less than 1 per cent.

Figure 12 shows the juvenile delinquency cases disposed of by 69 courts in areas with population of 100,000 or more.² Much publicity and various interpretations have been given to the increase of juvenile de-

² *Preliminary Statement, Juvenile Court Statistics, 1944.* Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Statistical Research, 1945.

linquency with the entrance of the United States into World War II. This increase resulted from a multiplicity of factors related to the war, including the fact that in many communities there has been an increased effort to apprehend the juvenile delinquent and to refer him to law-enforcing agents and juvenile courts. Statistics of juvenile delinquency cases disposed of by the courts do not reveal the total amount of delinquent behavior. Many cases of adolescents involved in delinquent behavior are not brought before the courts, either because the delinquents are not apprehended, or because these cases are handled by the police, schools, or community agencies especially concerned with this problem. Thus, this fact must be considered in the interpretation of the data presented on this problem.

Some problems. Annoying behavior should be looked upon as a symptom of certain conditions affecting the life of the subject concerned. On the basis of a very careful analysis of behavior one should thus be able to predict, to a degree, at least, certain conditions from a variety of factors that might have affected the child. Alert teachers and social workers are commonly following such a principle. They are looking upon the activities of the behavior-problem boy as symptomatic of a great variety of conditions—physical conditions, socio-economic status of the parents, general conditions of the home, intellectual conditions, educational advancement of both parents and child, faulty habit formation, and poor guidance. It will be pointed out in the following discussions that in most acts of an antisocial nature several causative elements are present. Joseph E. Nelson, Judge of the Juvenile Court, Provo, Utah, stated a number of years ago:

Delinquency like crime is not assignable to any single or universal source, but arises from a multiple of causes, yet often it is the case that a single circumstance will stand out as the dominant and real factor.³

Among the factors here studied are the following: (1) the home relationship, (2) the neighborhood conditions, (3) the school, and (4) mental and emotional defects.

THE HOME AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Parental attitudes. Entirely too many parents assume the attitude that a child is theirs, just as is any other personal property, and that they

³ Joseph E. Nelson: "Juvenile Delinquency," *The Kiwanis Magazine*, May, 1932, 17, pp. 213-214, 233-234.

have the right to "cash in" on him at any time or in any way they please. As Van Waters says, "Some parents appear to think they have vested property right in their children and seek to coerce them when their rights are not yielding dividends."⁴ This attitude is permissible insofar as discipline is concerned during the early years of training; but with growth into adolescence a rebellious child will result. A thwarting of the quest for independence (discussed in Chapter IX) is closely related to the early development of many juvenile crimes. It has been observed that at 10 or 11 years of age around 70 per cent of girls and 60 per cent of boys find greatest pleasure in the home and prefer to spend most of their leisure hours there. With the onset of puberty, the wider range of interests, and enlarged social contacts, adolescents begin to find more joys outside the home. It was suggested in Chapter IX that parents should not deplore this fact but, instead of thwarting adolescent desires, should aid the growing boy and girl in his or her emancipation from the dependency of childhood. The conflicts of adolescents with their parents result in most cases from a lack of adjustment in the emancipation process that should naturally take place as a part of the transition from childhood to adulthood.

A factor closely related to parental attitudes is the character of the parents. It has been pointed out that the child is imitative; especially does he imitate those whom he considers authorities. He comes to feel that their acts are an endorsement of such types of behavior. Imitation and suggestion in connection with drinking, immorality, or lawlessness aid in the establishment of delinquent tendencies in adolescent boys and girls. In a study by Lumpkin⁵ the delinquent girls' parental background was found to be very unfavorable. Social defective tendencies such as crime, alcoholism, and sexual irregularity appeared 443 times in 189 families. In Schulman's study, "43 per cent of families of truants, 50 per cent of families of juvenile delinquents, 66 per cent of families of misdemeanants, and 83 per cent of families of felons had criminal records."⁶ Although the objective information on this point is not wholly conclusive, it is the belief of this writer that criminality among parents is a very powerful conditioning factor for juvenile delinquency when

⁴ Miriam Van Waters: *Youth in Conflict*. New York: Republic Publishing Co., 1925, p. 81.

⁵ K. D. Lumpkin: "Factors in the Commitment of Correctional School Girls in Wisconsin," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1931, 37, pp. 222-230.

⁶ "Crime Prevention Through Education," *Research Bulletin of the National Education Association*, 1932, 10, p. 168.

it does appear. Goring⁷ really classed such points as we are here considering under the head of heredity, a rather unfortunate classification because it is certainly true that the mere presence of certain characteristics in both parent and offspring does not prove they are inherited.

Family breakdown and delinquency. For many years the broken home has been pointed to as one of the main causes of juvenile delinquency. To substantiate this claim many studies of home backgrounds have appeared. These studies almost without exception show broken homes in the background of a large percentage of delinquent children. We should be extremely careful, however, in the interpretation of these studies. The broken home is, in most cases, the climax of a long series of events and simply indicates underlying adjustments that affect all members of the family. There is evidence that it is not the broken home so much as the factors often associated with this condition—especially among the lower economic groups. Furthermore, Campbell⁸ presents evidence that it is the tension, neglect, and poverty accompanying broken home conditions that cause an increased percentage of delinquency in these groups. Based upon the records of 604 juvenile delinquents of both sexes, Hirsch⁹ interprets the results as showing broken homes a consequence of constitutional abnormalities and temperamental instabilities of parents rather than a direct cause of delinquency. Many siblings of delinquents from broken homes are untouched by this factor.

It has been shown that economic inefficiency and educational deficiency, respectively, head the list of causes of domestic conflict. These same factors are closely related to juvenile delinquency. Sullenger¹⁰ found, from studying the backgrounds of 500 delinquents brought before the courts in Omaha, that 25 per cent of the families were registered as having received some kind of aid from public and private agencies. The significant thing was that these registrations tended to occur near or just prior to the time when the behavior difficulties of the children brought them into court. This study is in agreement with other studies showing a large percentage of shiftless fathers and of mothers working

⁷ Charles Goring: *The English Convict*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, Chaps. V and VII.

⁸ Marian W. Campbell: "The Effect of the Broken Home upon the Child in School," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1932, 5, pp. 274-281.

⁹ N. D. M. Hirsch: *Dynamic Causes of Juvenile Crime*. Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1937.

¹⁰ T. E. Sullenger: "Economic Status as a Factor in Juvenile Delinquency," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, 1934, 18, pp. 233-245.

outside the home. Poverty seems to bring with it or to include factors closely related to delinquent behavior. We usually find crime, disease, ignorance, and vice associated with poverty. These items are certainly conducive to the development of juvenile criminals.

Economic status. It is probable that a careful study of homes broken by the death of one parent would indicate that such a circumstance is apt to result in behavior difficulties in the children from families less favored financially more than in children at the other end of the economic scale. The death of the father in a laborer's family usually burdens the mother and the older children with the responsibility of furnishing a livelihood. Often no insurance or other form of security is available. The mother must be away from home during many hours of the day, so that close supervision is impossible. In such a situation it is not easy for the parent to establish a relationship of close confidence with the children, which is vitally necessary to harmonious home life.

Even when both parents are alive, the poverty-stricken home presents a tremendous handicap to rearing the children as well-adjusted individuals. Often the father must work long hours without sufficient nourishment and recreation. His temper and training do not fit him for considerate handling of discipline situations and the result is constant tension. The children in such a family are denied the comforts and luxuries which some of their companions at school enjoy, with the result that many resort to dishonest means to attain these advantages. The death or desertion of the father in such a situation is the final stroke that brings on the more adverse conditions. Ettinger notes the following condition as closely associated with inferior economic status:

In the slums and poverty-stricken areas of the cities are to be found ramshackle buildings, with well-defined types of submerged humanity. These determining areas are a world of foreign tongues, an area of cheap lodging-houses filled with economic failures—the broken family, the marooned family, and human derelicts.¹¹

Overcrowding. Another home condition somewhat closely related to many of those already considered is overcrowding. This is especially likely to occur in circumstances of poverty and leads to stealing. Congested living conditions within the home or neighborhood may also throw children into undue contact with sexual stimulation and thereby result in increased immorality. Other causal home conditions exist

¹¹ C. J. Ettinger: *The Problem of Crime*. New York: R. Long and R. R. Smith, Inc., 1932, p. 151.

which cannot be considered here; nor is there ample space to consider even the major studies that have been made of the subject. Profanity, the mother's being forced to work, lack of educational advantages, lack of recreational facilities, the broken home, and undesirable companions in relation to the home are all potent factors. However, the Massachusetts survey points out:

The most important thing in the home is not the house or the furniture, but the spirit of it. This spirit of comradeship with the child is within the reach of rich and poor. By it the child is kept in the home, and his chances of delinquency are materially decreased.¹²

NEIGHBORHOOD CONDITIONS

Congested neighborhoods. The detrimental effect of bad home conditions is usually supplemented by undesirable neighborhood influences. In the first place, congested home conditions are closely related to congested neighborhood conditions. It has been found from various studies that crime is relatively higher in populous territories. A number of years ago it was shown that the four most populous counties of Tennessee contained about 27 per cent of the population (1920 census) but contributed over 50 per cent of the juvenile delinquents.¹³ Figures available from such states as Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, North Carolina, Missouri, Nebraska, Iowa, and other centers reveal the same tendency.

Not only do our juvenile criminals come from the more populous centers; they are found in the more congested areas of such centers. A total of 9,243 alleged delinquent boys were dealt with by the police officers of Chicago in 1926,¹⁴ and it was found that delinquency was concentrated in the districts marked by poverty and a lack of social organization; 50 per cent of the crime took place in 19.2 per cent of the total city area. Eva B. Hansl,¹⁵ speaking of the slums, said:

They are the only frontier the city child knows—a frontier blocked by brick walls and fire escapes, with foul air in cubic feet instead of wide-open spaces; with police and truant officers forever cramping the spirit of adventure. Children born into these areas inherit the tradition of the underworld as definitely as those brought up under the classic elms of a New England college town inherit the tradition of a cultured society.

¹² *Massachusetts Department of Correction Quarterly*, January, 1929, 5, pp. 1-3, 6.

¹³ *Biennial Report of the Department of Institutions of Tennessee, 1926-1928.*

¹⁴ C. R. Shaw: "Does the Community Determine Character?" (1) "Delinquency and the Social Situation," *Religious Education*, 1929, 24, pp. 409-417.

¹⁵ See *The New York Times* for January 26, 1936.

Gang activities. Gang life forms the background of much delinquency and, as has already been pointed out, the gang is largely an adolescent phenomenon, originating mainly among boys. It is formed in crowded territories and is characterized by the following types of behavior: meeting face to face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict, and planning. The result of this collective behavior is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, *esprit de corps*, solidarity, morale, group awareness, and attachment to a local territory.¹⁶

Gangs, like most other social groups, originate under conditions that are typical for all groups of the same species—they develop in definite and predictable ways. Their playgrounds are oftentimes areas where they find opportunities for amusement and adventure and too often escape from certain adversities of life. However, it should be borne in mind that the gang is a protean manifestation: no two gangs are just alike; some are good; some are bad; each has to be considered on its own merits. Strenuous efforts are being made at the present time to organize and direct these gang-like tendencies into more useful and desirable channels. It is well known that where this has been done juvenile crime has been considerably reduced.

Reinhardt and Harper¹⁷ compared the club activities of 40 delinquent with 40 non-delinquent boys of the same age. The non-delinquents were members of all sorts of constructive clubs; only 5 did not belong to some club. In contrast, only 15 of the 40 delinquents belonged to some club; apparently the other 25 were left unsupervised and found recourse in gang activities. The Gluecks¹⁸ found a similar condition, in that 75 per cent of 971 cases studied had never been associated with such organizations as the Y.M.C.A., Boy Scouts, and supervised playgrounds. On the other hand, there is considerable agreement among the various studies on the point that the delinquent usually has one or more companions in his delinquencies. The apparent exception in the case of Armstrong's study of 660 runaways is to be expected, since the nature of the offense itself would not call for companions. The data from the studies presented in Table XX strongly suggest that compan-

¹⁶ F. M. Thrasher: *The Gang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.

¹⁷ James M. Reinhardt and Fowler V. Harper: "Comparison of Environmental Factors of Delinquent and Non-delinquent Boys," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, 1931, 15, pp. 271-277.

¹⁸ Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck: *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents. Their Treatment by Court and Clinic*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934.

TABLE XX

PERCENTAGE OF COMPANIONSHIP EXISTING AMONG ACTS
OF DELINQUENTS

AUTHOR	DESCRIPTION	PER CENT
Healy and Bronner (1926).....	3,000 cases.....	63.0
Illinois Crime Survey (1929).....	6,000 cases of stealing.....	90.4
Shaw and McKay (1931).....	3,517 offenses of 1,886 boys.....	81.0
Armstrong (1932).....	660 runaways.....	13.5
	70 "unlawful entry".....	84.3
Glueck and Glueck (1934).....	823 cases.....	70.2
Fenton (1935).....	282 boys.....	82.6

ions are a significant factor in accounting for acts of delinquents.¹⁹ Thrasher refers to some studies in Chicago as follows:

The importance of the group factor in juvenile delinquency in Chicago is suggested by a study of 177 boys brought into the Chicago Juvenile Court in one month (August, 1930). In 57 per cent of these cases, the boys were arraigned in groups, and the records indicate that groups were active in many of the other cases, in which only one boy was caught. A similar study of 169 boys for a winter month (January, 1921) suggests the presence of the group factor in 54 per cent of the cases.²⁰

The importance of the disorganized and unsupervised gang in the development of juvenile delinquents is further emphasized in pupils' dropping out of school, lack of recreational facilities, poor use of leisure time, and lack of parental care and interest. In this connection Henry has stated:

Home, street, and school are parts of the economic and social order. The roots of crime are grounded in the social order; and, up to yesterday, the social order has been impervious to its casualties in the form of the criminal and the dependent.²¹

THE SCHOOL AND DELINQUENCY

Its enlarged function. The school is becoming a potent force in the development and guidance of individual boys and girls into useful and worthy citizenship. It is sometimes thought of as one would think of a

¹⁹ C. M. Louttit: *Clinical Psychology*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936, p. 377.

²⁰ F. M. Thrasher: *op. cit.*, p. 377.

²¹ George W. Henry: "Social Factors in Delinquency," *Mental Hygiene*, 1940, 24, p. 75.

life insurance policy, except that in this case the state pays the premiums and is expecting returns in the form of better and more useful citizenship. One assumption here is that a citizen trained for earning a living will be a better citizen; the other is that a democratic state cannot afford to be controlled by the will of an ignorant demos.

Health. The problem of health in connection with undesirable behavior is receiving more and more attention, as was especially emphasized in the chapter on the hygiene of adolescence. It is attracting the attention of a great number of educational and social workers. Furthermore, the relation between physical and mental well-being and behavior activities is constantly observed by those concerned with the growth and development of boys and girls. Several years ago the writer visited a dental clinic in one of the schools of North Carolina and was interested in the following case:

A girl had been in the sixth grade for three years. She was 16 years of age and had an intelligence quotient of 90, according to results obtained from the Stanford Revision of the Binet Tests. This girl was given a careful examination for teeth defects and this revealed one of the worst mouth conditions in the school; also, her tonsils, probably because of the defective teeth, were enlarged. Remedying the condition of her mouth and tonsils made for a change in attitude toward school, a more energetic individual, an attentive response, and finally a promotion in school. This pupil was formerly considered a problem by her teacher, but later the teacher had no especial difficulty with her.

Some characteristics of disciplinary-problem pupils. An analysis of the characteristics of the problem child will reveal that in most cases several factors are operating to bring about undesirable forms of behavior. (This thought is emphasized throughout our study of maladjusted and maladaptive behavior.) Also, data referred to on page 212 show that most cases of delinquency involve boys. Now this same trend is true for disciplinary problems in the general school program. In one study of fairly recent date²² it was found that "72 per cent of the problem pupils were boys. Nearly one-half of the problem boys and more than one-half of the problem girls were freshmen. . . . The majority of the freshmen were within compulsory school age."

The natural forces of training, present environment, and physiological conditions are ever operating upon the intercellular and intracellular structures as they grow into a stage of maturity. One will have to

²² C. T. Coleman: "The Characteristics of Disciplinary Problem Pupils in High School," *The School Review*, 1930, 39, pp. 434-442.

study the child in relation to these various forces if an intelligent understanding of the cause of undesirable behavior is to be ascertained. Lowrey writes:

Furthermore it is increasingly demonstrable that the reaction possibilities of the individual at any given time are determined by his entire background—biological stock, physical, mental and social development, and those experiences of life which have helped to mold his personality as it evolved.²³

Qualitative differences in the play life of gifted, average, and sub-normal children were pointed out in Chapter VI. The play life of disciplinary problem pupils is often marked by such qualitative differences as lack of self-control, selfishness, unwillingness to play the game fair, bullying and teasing of younger children, and kindred traits largely related to the emotional life.

In the Coleman study referred to, results relative to intellectual life that are somewhat typical of the findings of other studies were found. These are in harmony with the general trend of thought concerning qualitative differences in the temperament traits referred to in the preceding paragraph. They are therefore given here for further study:

1. Unsatisfactory scholastic achievement accompanied unsatisfactory conduct. Twice as many problem pupils as non-problem pupils have been retarded in elementary school. In high school more than five-sixths of the semester failures were in the problem group.

2. The majority of the leaders in extracurricular activities were non-problem pupils. Of the pupils included in this study, all who were officers in the student government, a large majority of those who were members of honorary clubs, two thirds of those who were members of advanced musical organizations, and approximately two thirds of the boys who had won places on the athletic teams were non-problem pupils.

3. A larger number of the problem pupils than of the non-problem pupils were of American descent. The difference between the percentage of the problem pupils and the percentage of the non-problem pupils who were children of American-born parents is 17.6.

4. Finally, the evidence indicates that the problem pupils lacked fundamental qualities of character. They lacked determination. Although of equal intellectual ability, they failed and refailed in more subjects than did the non-problem pupils. . . .²⁴

²³ Lawson G. Lowrey: "Clinical Facilities for the Study of Personality and Behavior Problems in Children," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1930, 151-153, p. 139.

²⁴ C. T. Coleman: *op. cit.*, p. 442.

More and more the problem of individual variation is receiving attention in an endeavor to interpret better the cause-and-effect relations in the development of behavior. The importance of this is indicated by the results of a study based upon surveys carried out in New York City Reformatory and the House of Refuge on Randall's Island, New York City. Peyser writes:

School failure appears to be more highly correlated with the incidence of delinquency than is any other condition, including poverty, broken home, absence of religious association, physical defect, mental defectiveness, psychopathic condition, or truancy. Failure is written largely in the school histories of the great majority of the boys.²⁵

His data indicated that 29 per cent of New York City elementary school children were retarded and that these children have contributed from 84.4 to 92.8 per cent of the delinquent groups which he investigated.

But school failures are largely conditioned by socio-economic circumstances and conditions. The relation between educational achievement and delinquency is shown again in the recent study by Moore.²⁶ The subjects in this study were 115 delinquent boys from the Tennessee State Training School and 122 orphans from the Tennessee State Industrial School. They were given the Otis Self-Administering Test of Intelligence and the Modern School Achievement Tests. The results show that the delinquent group was retarded mentally four years and the dependents were retarded one year, eight months. In educational achievement the delinquents were 33 points below the norm and 16 points below the control group.

Dorothy Kinzer Tyson, of the California Bureau of Juvenile Research, noted 33 commonly found behavior traits of delinquent boys. To find the occurrence of these traits in the cottage, the trade shop, and the classrooms, 246 boys of the Whittier State School were checked for a variety of traits. "The ten outstanding traits reported were laziness, disobedience, resentment toward discipline, inattentiveness, quarrelsomeness, lying, swearing, filthy language, instability of mood, and bullying."²⁷

²⁵ N. Peyser: "Character Building and Prevention of Crime." *Unpublished Manuscript*, 1933, p. 70.

²⁶ J. E. Moore: "A Comparative Study of the Educational Achievement of Delinquent and Dependent Boys," *Peabody Journal of Education*, 1936, 14, pp. 1-6.

²⁷ "How Bad Boys Behave," *The Survey*, January 15, 1931, p. 440.

SEX AND JUVENILE CRIME

Despite the fact that there is almost no type of antisocial behavior committed by one sex that is not committed by the other, rather pronounced differences in the modal trends of the delinquencies of the two sexes exist. Here again it appears that such differences as exist are not inherent but only reflect the interaction of the various elements peculiar to the personalities of each sex.

An escape. That there are no sex differences with respect to mean age, and mean IQ is what might have been expected on logical grounds. (See Table XXII for IQ's.) For the delinquent boy or girl the offense is most likely (at the time committed) an escape from an unsatisfactory system of behavior. It is apparent that there is for girls, even as for boys, an equal need for escape. The chief sex differences existing probably represent the types of escapes that are found most feasible. Some of the sex differences in offenses will be studied both quantitatively and qualitatively. Data bearing on this problem are not always available; this is especially true for girls, since some states make a tabulation of the offenses causing the commitment of boys but show no consistency in the tabulation and classification of crime data for girls.

Sex differences in offenses committed. According to reports from the Children's Bureau of Washington, as well as to data from other sources, five or six times as many boys as girls are arraigned before the juvenile courts, the ages for most of these boys being fourteen and fifteen. The two most common types of offenses by boys, as disposed of by the courts in 1943, are stealing or attempting to steal and acts of carelessness or mischief; the most common types by girls are, in order, ungovernable behavior and running away (tied), sex offenses, truancy, and stealing. (See Table XXI.)

These data show rather clearly that sex offenses bring many more girls than boys to the courts. A variety of acts of stealing bring boys before the courts but girls are brought for miscellaneous stealing. Some analytic investigations of crimes committed by girls have indicated, in fact, that sex is much more prominent in their commitments than records show. Many families would say "ungovernable" when the real delinquency is probably sex offenses. It appears, further, that in many cases of ungovernability or running away, the sex offense is probably prominent. Although a fairly large number of girls are infected, and immorality is admitted by a rather high percentage according to some studies, very few of the delinquent girls have fallen to the level of prostitution.

TABLE XXI
JUVENILE-DELINQUENCY CASES, 1943: REASON FOR REFERENCE TO COURT IN BOYS'
AND IN GIRLS' CASES DISPOSED OF BY 399 COURTS²⁸

REASON FOR REFERENCE TO COURT	DELINQUENCY CASES					
	Number			Per Cent		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
Total cases.....	125,488	101,523	23,965	—	—	—
Reason for reference reported.....	117,985	95,424	22,561	100	100	100
Stealing.....	42,932	40,373	2,559	36	42	11
Act of carelessness or mischief.....	20,419	18,991	1,428	17	20	6
Traffic violation.....	9,421	9,228	193	8	10	1
Truancy.....	9,697	6,678	3,019	8	7	13
Running away.....	10,687	5,844	4,843	9	6	22
Being ungovernable.....	10,129	5,206	4,923	9	5	22
Sex offense.....	6,335	2,563	3,772	5	3	17
Injury to person.....	3,038	2,609	429	3	3	2
Other reason.....	5,327	3,932	1,395	5	4	6
Reason for reference not reported.....	7,503	6,099	1,404	—	—	—

²⁸ From: Social Statistics Supplement to *The Child*, June 1945. Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor.

This is quite an interesting commentary on the whole situation. Again, as was the case in connection with intelligence levels, the records of those actually sentenced will not give a true picture of the sex life of the entire number of girls appearing before the courts. The salvaging process is again at work, leaving for a final sentence the worst of the group appearing. The data on the 138 white women prisoners from North Carolina show that 51 per cent were committed for sex offenses, 18.1 per cent for delinquency, 5 per cent for larceny, and 3.6 per cent for robbery.²⁹ It is quite true, at any rate, that a very great number of the offenses of a non-sexual nature grow out of some sex situation. For various reasons boys of the adolescent age are seldom placed in institutions because of sex experiences, and especially is this true for heterosexual experiences. They, on the other hand, have been held more responsible for their own support, have probably been less protected in the home than the girls, and are faced with certain needs which they attempt to satisfy; hence they develop habits of stealing more than do the girls.

INTELLIGENCE AND CRIME

No criminal type. It is quite generally believed that most delinquents are feeble-minded or that delinquency and feeble-mindedness practically parallel each other. This belief is exceedingly unfortunate, because objectively obtained and carefully interpreted data do not substantiate it. It arose before modern intelligence tests had been developed or put into such actual, widespread use as would enable those using them to know the true meaning or import of data obtained. Lombroso's now thoroughly disproved idea that there is a definite criminal type did much to make people feel that delinquents and criminals were qualitatively different from those not so branded by the law. His discussion of the stigmata of the criminal type and his description of it as being possessed of "the characters of primitive men and of inferior animals"³⁰ went far toward making that part of the general public which is attentive really feel that the criminal and delinquent surely must be set apart as a separate type.

While Goring very conclusively demonstrated the falsity of Lom-

²⁹ Lena B. Ladu and K. C. Garrison: "A Study of Emotional Instability and Intelligence of Women in the Penal Institutions of North Carolina," *Social Forces*, 1931, 10, pp. 209-216.

³⁰ Charles Goring: *The English Convict*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, p. 13. (Quoted from an address delivered by Lombroso in 1906 before the Congress of Criminal Anthropology at Turin.)

broso's concept of special physical stigmata, he himself is probably in part responsible for the previously mentioned current concept. In fact, though he denies it, he really took over Lombroso's qualitative position, simply substituting the term "defective intelligence" for Lombroso's "defective physique." Lombroso believed that the characteristics that he described were of an atavistic type, and thus inherited; and Goring, as previously mentioned, states that heredity and intelligence are the two main factors that differentiate the criminal from the non-criminal type. Since Goring's method of classifying prisoners by intelligence was wholly subjective, one cannot rely very much on its results.

Goddard's early work. In America, Goddard, more than anyone else, is responsible for the quite prevalent idea in some circles that the delinquent is defective. Contrary to his thought, the fact that any one element of personality is associated with crime is not proof in itself that such an element is the sole factor responsible for crime. Granted that mental deficiency is related to inferior social and environmental status, that a preponderance of crime exists in congested sections of inferior social and environmental status in our cities, and that therefore an abundance of crime is committed by those of defective mental ability—granted this, it does not follow from the mere association of the factors that mental defectiveness is itself a cause of the crime.

Goddard concludes from some rather early studies:

Every investigation of the mentality of criminals, misdemeanants, delinquents, and other antisocial groups has proved beyond the possibility of contradiction that nearly all persons in these classes, and in some cases all, are of low mentality. . . . The greatest single cause of delinquency and crime is low-grade mentality.³¹

Error in sampling. A number of investigators early pointed out that factors of intelligence and socio-economic status operate to select delinquents that are brought before the Juvenile Court. It is quite doubtful if we at any time have a truly representative group that can be labeled "juvenile delinquents." Since this is the case, we should exercise caution when we assume that the mean IQ of delinquents is between 80 and 90. The materials of Table XXII present the IQ's as found from a number of studies conducted on this problem following the pioneer work of Bronner, Healy, and Miner in America and Burt in England.³²

³¹ H. H. Goddard: *Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1920, pp. 72-73.

³² Augusta F. Bronner: "A Comparative Study of the Intelligence of Delinquent Girls," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Educa-*

TABLE XXII

MEAN IQ'S FOUND FROM CERTAIN REPRESENTATIVE STUDIES OF DELINQUENTS. (*Enlarged from Data Presented by Mann and Mann*)

AUTHOR	DESCRIPTION	PER CENT
Burt (1925).....	197 delinquents in England.....	89
Healy and Bronner (1926)....	4,000 delinquents.....	90
Merrill (1926).....	236 juvenile court cases.....	82
Ball (1928).....	146 delinquent boys.....	85.4
Beane (1931).....	300 girls in Indiana.....	82
Snyder (1931).....	Delinquents in Penn Training School for boys.....	71.25
Armstrong (1932).....	{ 660 runaway boys.....	78
	{ 1,379 delinquents in N. Y. Children's Court.....	73
	{ 553 delinquents in N. Y. House of Refuge.....	78
McClure (1933).....	{ 435 delinquent boys.....	80.03
	{ 167 delinquent girls.....	77.27
Fenton (1935).....	400 in Whittier State School for boys	91.7
Livingston (1935).....	407 in Indiana Boys' School for de- linquents.....	92
Moore (1937).....	115 in Tennessee Training School for delinquent boys.....	68.9
Mann and Mann (1939).....	1,061 delinquent boys.....	84.88
	670 delinquent girls.....	83.77
Feinberg and Reed (1940).....	127 boys of the Ford Republic.....	88.7

Each conducted studies on the problem and pointed out the discrepancies existing because of the use of norms not applicable to the group under consideration. There is evidence from these studies that a larger percentage of boys and girls of low grade intelligence appear before

tion, 1914, No. 68; "A Research on the Proportion of Mental Defectives Among Delinquents," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 1914. William Healy: *The Individual Delinquent*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co. (1915). J. B. Miner: *Deficiency and Delinquency*. Baltimore: Warwick and York (1918). Cyril Burt: *The Young Delinquent*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. (1925).

the juvenile courts than would be expected on the basis of chance. However, Mann and Mann point out:

A closer approximation to a general rule is that delinquents having an IQ below 90—because of low intelligence, because of the area from which they come, or for some other reason or reasons—are more likely to be caught in their delinquencies than those whose IQ is higher.³³

If one bases his conclusion on children already committed to institutions, it is probably true that intelligence superiority among delinquents is rather rare. (Of course, it must be remembered that this group is not the entire body of delinquents in any state; the entire delinquent group, if *all* delinquents are considered, comes very close to being the entire population.) Among institutional cases the per cent of intelligence quotients in excess of 100 is small as compared with the number less than 100; however, for every educational quotient below 70 in the penal institution there can be found dozens, even hundreds, of comparably low-ability persons not in such an institution—and, from the standpoint of behavior activities, no more deserving of being there than the general average of the population. It is probably true, and in most cases properly so, that many juvenile-court judges try to salvage from the human wreckage that is brought to their courts as many as possible who appear promising or capable of recognizing the nature and consequences of antisocial behavior—those who can profit from mistakes and thus give promise of making more adequate adjustments under some sort of supervision outside institutions. But these individuals are in most cases not retarded mentally and are therefore not counted among the institutional cases. Hence, counting methods decrease the average mental ability found in our institutions. The Boyntons, working with a younger group of reform school boys and girls, found that the median IQ for boys was around 67 to 69, and the median for girls only a fraction over 61³⁴—but, again, only boys and girls who had been sentenced and confined in the reformatory schools were studied. The case of Andy O'Keefe illustrates how inferior mental ability may operate in connection with activities referred to as antisocial or criminal in nature:

³³ C. W. Mann and Helen Ponner Mann: "Age and Intelligence of a Group of Juvenile Delinquents," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1939, 34, pp. 351-360.

³⁴ Paul L. Boynton: "Mental Development of Twelve-Year-Old Boys in the Kentucky Houses of Reform," *Journal of Delinquency*, 1926, 10, p. 532. Juanita Curry Boynton: "A Study of Certain Factors Contributing to the Delinquency of Reform School Girls," *Unpublished Master's Thesis*, University of Kentucky.

Andy O'Keefe wanted to cry when he was brought into the North Annex. He didn't, because he was a tough guy. With two other boys he was charged with breaking into a cellar with intent to rob. The boys had a somewhat different story. They admitted the legal crime of unlawfully entering the premises, but claimed that their purpose was not robbery. One of the boys had had an argument at home and had been thrown out. They were looking for a convenient cellar in which their friend might sleep for a night until things could be patched up at home. Unemployment is a fairly frequent reason for youngsters being cast out of underprivileged homes. There are too many mouths to feed, and parents are unwilling to believe that an able-bodied adolescent cannot find work. The other two boys were in somewhat better shape than Andy; they had never been "in trouble" with the law before.

Andy is seventeen, an Irish Catholic, blond and pimply. He had a "record." He had served time in a boys' reformatory and expected the worst. He was indignant to think that the police were so stupid as to lock the boys up for what they felt was a "bum rap." There was simply nothing worth stealing in the cellar into which they had broken. Andy was definitely in a bad way. His previous criminal record was going to count against him. Within two days of his arrival at the prison he was made to feel that. His record caught up with him and he was separated from his friends and lodged in the South Annex where recidivist boys are kept.

Andy had tried hard to go straight. He would go along fairly well for a time, when, as he put it, "Bing! Something happens!" If left to himself, he would probably eke out some sort of an honest marginal existence. Andy is not very bright and is easily influenced by stronger-willed companions. He came into the Tombs showing the marks of what he claimed was a police beating to induce a confession. He was confused, bewildered, and distrustful of any offers of aid. He finally agreed to seek peace of mind through the confessional, and the Catholic chaplain of the Tombs made a special trip to the prison to dispense the sacrament of penance.

Andy is a weak person, the ready tool of older and more experienced criminals. Yet he is not inherently vicious. If he is reached in time, he may be salvaged. Otherwise he will continue in petty crime. He is too dull to amount to anything in the criminal world.³⁵

There seems to be much evidence for the general concept of Slawson³⁶ that no direct causal relationship between defective intelligence and delinquency exists. In fact, this but further emphasizes a point which was brought out in the preceding chapter. Personality is an integration, a totality; it cannot be explained in terms of one isolated ele-

³⁵ G. W. Henry and A. A. Gross: "Social Factors in Delinquency," *Mental Hygiene*, 1940, 24, pp. 65-66.

³⁶ John Slawson: *The Delinquent Boy: A Socio-Psychology Study*. Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1926.

ment. Though defective intelligence in one environment may result in a delinquent personality, in another it may be a barrier to the development of delinquency. Of course, some grades of intelligence will yield more quickly to one type of suggestion while others will yield more readily to other types. After all, if one is seeking the cause of a given antisocial personality, he must look to all the different elements in the integration and not attempt to explain the deflection in more simple terms than is logically possible.

Nature of the offense. However, there is a great deal of proof for the generalization that intelligence is related to the nature of offenses. Studies indicate that mental deficiency is more common among juvenile offenders than among adult criminals. Also, the mentally defective tend to commit offenses of a minor nature rather than the major crimes. Two studies carried out under the direction of the writer reveal very clearly that intelligence is associated with types of crime.³⁷ The IQ of the female sex offenders studied was found to be 83.3 as compared with an average of 86.6 for the entire group. The average IQ of the five committing robbery was 99. Ruggles concludes from the study of juvenile male prisoners that "the baser sex crimes are, in the main, committed by the feeble-minded."

Psychoneurotic responses and delinquency. Progress in studying the psychopathic delinquent has been seriously limited in a large measure because of the lack of objective measuring instruments suitable for studying emotional instability, although today we find many instruments available and much work being done in an endeavor to give a better and more detailed picture of the psychopathic child. Too often, the methods have been limited to attempts to discover some physical or organic causes. Recent developments in the field of abnormal psychology emphasize the importance of functional disorders in the development of psychopathic tendencies. In order better to understand the psychoneurotic responses of an individual, one must understand the nature of habit formation, and its operation in the life of the particular subject under consideration. That habits are dynamic drives in nature is well known, a fact recognized and emphasized early by psychoanalytic workers. It was further pointed out in Chapter IV that the emotional factor is a very potent drive and operates in a heightened manner during adolescence.

³⁷ Lena B. Ladu and K. C. Garrison: *op. cit.*; E. W. Ruggles: "An Analytic Study of Various Factors Relating to Juvenile Crime," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, 1932, 16, pp. 125-132.

Slawson³⁸ studied the psychoneurotic responses of delinquent boys from certain schools for delinquency in New York, and compared their responses with those noted by Mathews,³⁹ who worked with non-delinquent boys. From a careful examination of the differences, he found the following general facts concerning delinquents:

1. Strong tendencies toward morbid depressions.
2. Marked tendencies to run away from home. These may be expressions of either environmental or constitutional conflicts.
3. Strangely enough there appears no evidence, judging from the responses, that the delinquent boy tends to be an unsocial or "shut-in" type of individual.
4. There appears to be no evidence of an unusual number who are subject to abnormal dream states and disturbances of sleep.
5. Spasms of rage or morbid anger are in evidence.
6. Ideas of persecution are discernibly present.
7. Phantasies are in evidence.
8. The pain threshold is good.
9. A dominating impulse to steal is easily discerned; 50 per cent of the delinquent boys give a positive response to this question, as compared with 6 per cent of unselected boys.
10. A pleasure in hurting someone or something is also noticeably present.
11. Fears and phobias are not much more prevalent among the delinquent group than among the non-delinquent group.
12. Abnormal physical movements and tendencies toward fatigue are prevalent.
13. Pains and physical defects, especially of the sensory organs, are present to a certain extent.
14. Forty-three per cent of the delinquent boys admit in a general way their antisocial tendencies, by claiming to have felt very wicked at one time.

In the study by Fertman, 180 delinquent girls from the Girls' Industrial School near Delaware, Ohio, between the ages of 14 years, 0 months, and 17 years, 11 months, were contrasted with an equivalent group of non-delinquents on the basis of responses to the *Pressey Interest-Attitude Tests*.⁴⁰ "Age for age the delinquent girls demonstrated an emotional retardation of not less than 2.5 years, as measured by separate tests or by total scores of the Interest-Attitude Tests." The greatest average retardation was made on Test I (things considered wrong). Durea found an average emotional retardation of not less

³⁸ John Slawson: *op. cit.*, Chap. IV.

³⁹ Ellen Mathews: "A Study of Emotional Stability in Children," *Journal of Delinquency*, January, 1923.

⁴⁰ M. H. Fertman: "Differentiating Personality Characteristics of Delinquent Girls," *Master's Thesis*, Ohio State University, 1939, p. 26.

than 2.5 years for each life-age group of delinquent boys from 14 to 17 years old.⁴¹ An earlier study of this problem was made by Healy and Bronner.⁴² In this study 105 delinquent children were matched with 105 non-delinquent siblings of as nearly the same age as possible. The two groups were compared for degree of adjustment to the family, emotional experiences, and so forth. A large number of important differences were found between the delinquents and the controls—the delinquent group had less desirable developmental histories than the controls and were more restless and hyperactive.

Any condition that seriously disorganizes our conventional way of life will affect the lives of growing boys and girls more than that of adults, since the behavior patterns of adults are already formed. The adolescent, whose nature is more flexible, is more easily deflected by the social change of the time. This circumstance was reflected in the significant increase in juvenile delinquency in Great Britain and the United States during World War II. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, summarizing the situation as it related to youth, made the following statement:

For the first time in twelve years, age 17 predominated in the frequency of males arrested, and age 18 predominated in the frequency of female arrests. Boy arrests under 18 increased 23.4 per cent and girl arrests under 21 years of age increased 47.9 per cent. . . .⁴³

Summary. Sex, of course, is a physical characteristic; so is mental ability; and, to a degree, this is true for other factors related to delinquency. Once more we are brought back to our earlier concept of personality as an integrated expression into which have entered certain mental and physical tendencies which, though basically limited by hereditary factors, are more specifically shaped by environment. There are no scientific studies that have been made by which we can assign a definite weight to each of these various factors. Ample evidence exists that boys commit crime from five to ten times as frequently as girls and that economic uncertainty at home—usually combined with such other factors as lack of education, inferior social

⁴¹ M. A. Durea: "The Emotional Maturity of Juvenile Delinquents," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1937, 31, No. 4. See also, M. A. Durea: "Personality Characteristics of Juvenile Delinquents, I. A Method for the Selection of Differentiating Traits," *Child Development*, 1937, 8, pp. 115-118.

⁴² William Healy and A. F. Bronner: *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.

⁴³ "Summary of Crime Trends, 1939-43," *Uniform Crime Reports*, p. 52.

status, and a broken home—is related to juvenile crime. Neighborhoods in which there is extreme congestion, lack of wholesome recreational facilities, and a great deal of mobility tend to be centers where juvenile crime is rather prominent. Truancy, failure in school, conflicts in school, and the display of psychoneurotic tendencies are closely related to the overt acts recognized as the beginning of a juvenile criminal career.

Sex alone does not cause delinquency; psychoneurotic tendencies alone do not cause delinquency; inferior intelligence alone does not cause delinquency. It is not inherited; environment considered as an entirely isolated factor cannot give the whole story of delinquency. The delinquent personality is, in truth, as much a composite expression as the non-delinquent personality, and we do an injustice to any analysis when we consider only one element to the exclusion of all others.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. List in order of importance the ten factors that you believe to be most closely associated with juvenile delinquency.
2. Describe some case of a juvenile delinquent that you are familiar with. Can you give the factors in his life that are probably responsible for his behavior?
3. What is wrong with some of the generalizations one might draw from some of the facts presented concerning elements of delinquency?
4. Elaborate on the thought that "badness" in behavior is symptomatic of a great variety of conditions affecting the individual.
5. Account for the increase in crime despite the development of public education.
6. Evaluate the studies relative to intelligence and crime. Cite other studies on this problem.
7. Discuss the characteristic sex differences in the nature and amount of crime committed.

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XIV

Social Development and Expansion— Heterosexuality

Social development. The child's social development is of a gradual and continuous nature. Early in life he is largely egocentric. A little later he discovers himself as a member of a social unit, in which he stands in certain relations to others. In the home he receives his first social training, and first comes into contact with the routine of life. He establishes regular habits with regard to meals, play hours, sleep, and so forth, and learns that his actions must be conditioned in relation to the behavior of others. Social habits are formed in harmony with various social forces. A reasonable amount of conformity is essential, but the problem of individual versus social development is not always adequately solved by the various social forces. The social development of the child is conditioned by various institutions, and the principle of "learning by doing" applied to social participation is important in the development of a social individual.

The early work of G. Stanley Hall made use of diaries in studying the social development and change of interests that accompany development into adolescence. A fairly recent study of adolescent leisure-time activities, made through an analysis of diaries, revealed some interesting changes and conditions. Study of the leisure-time activities of 535 adolescents between 12 and 21 revealed an increase in heterosexual activities with an increase in age.¹ These later activities of adolescents consisted of dancing, talking, and the like, whereas their earlier activities included much time given to reading, listening to the radio, and to separate boy or girl club and gang affairs. These differences are well summarized in the report by Meek² on the personal-social development of boys and girls from the onset of puberty into and through adolescence. (See Table XXIII.) It is interesting to note

¹ H. E. O. James and F. T. Moore: "Adolescent Leisure in a Working-Class District," *Occupational Psychology*, 1940, 14, pp. 132-145.

² Lois Hayden Meek (Chairman): *The Personal-Social Development of Boys and Girls with Implications for Secondary Education*. Committee on Workshops, Progressive Education Association, 1940, p. 121.

TABLE XXIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOYS AND GIRLS FROM THE ONSET OF PUBERTY INTO AND THROUGH ADOLESCENCE (*After Meek*)

FROM	TO
1. Variety and instability of interests.	Fewer and deeper interests.
2. Talkative, noisy, daring behavior with a great amount of any kind of activity.	More dignified, controlled masculine and feminine adult behavior.
3. Seeking peer status with a high respect for peer standards.	The reflecting of adult cultural patterns.
4. A desire for identification with the herd, the crowd of boys and girls.	Identification with small select group.
5. Making family status a relatively unimportant factor insofar as it influences the choice of associates.	Making family socio-economic status an increasingly important factor in affecting with whom one associates.
6. Informal social activities such as parties.	Social activities of a more formal nature, such as dances.
7. Rare dating.	Dates and "steadies" the usual thing.
8. Emphasis on building relations with boys and girls.	Increasing concern with preparation for own family life.
9. Temporary friendships.	More lasting friendships.
10. Having many friends.	Fewer but deeper friendships.
11. Willingness to accept activities providing opportunities for social relations.	Desire for activities satisfying to the individual in line with talent development, proposed vocation, academic interest, or hobby.
12. Little insight into own behavior or behavior of others.	Increasing insight into human relations.
13. Accepting the provision of reasonable rules by adults as an important and stabilizing influence.	Making own rules with a definite purpose in view.
14. Ambivalence in accepting adult authority.	Growing independence from adults and dependence on self for decisions and behavior. Seeking relations with adults on an equality basis.

how the gang interests of the adolescent are discarded, during this period, in favor of closer identification with adult culture and interests. The intense desire for status and approval in the society of his peers, together with the low regard for family status, which he manifests during his preadolescent years gradually gives way to a recognition of the socio-economic status of the family. It is at this point that his earlier, more democratic nature breaks down, and he begins to seek the friendship and approval of members of some select group.

The maturing sex drive. As a full-fledged drive, sex does not mature until puberty. The dynamic force of this drive comes mainly from

the hormones of the gonadal glands. These glands usually begin to function effectively sometime between the ages of 11 and 15 years, generally earlier in the case of girls than boys. However, many of the aidant mechanisms which later serve the sex appetite are established at an earlier period. Their development is a result of both *biological* and *social* forces. The biological reason is concerned with the fact that certain areas of the body are well supplied with cutaneous sense organs which become the points of stimulation for the development of overt responses. Furthermore, curves of growth of the sex glands reveal a gradual and constant growth, and any strong stimulation applied in the right way under favorable conditions will affect the sex drive during this early period. It has been pointed out that endocrine factors operate in preparing the preadolescent for adolescent changes. Concerning this, Shock states:

With maturation of the sex glands, increased amounts of male or female sex hormones are liberated into the blood stream, stimulating growth and development of accessory sex organs, and resulting in the appearance of secondary sex characters.³

Conditions affecting social development. In the previous chapters it was emphasized that any given period of development must be viewed in relation to the conditions and events that have preceded it. Thus, if the emotional and social maturation of the adolescent are to be understood, we must study the physiological, social, and educational forces at work during the years of infancy and elementary school life. It is most important that these prior influences affecting the adolescent's attitude towards members of the opposite sex be taken into account; an awareness of them is essential for the proper direction of the social activities of adolescents. That is what Mursell meant when he said, recently:

Even the most dramatic characteristic [of adolescence]—sexual maturity and emotional fixation upon the opposite sex—is known to be prepared for from earliest infancy. A fortunate sexual evolution during these later years depends far more upon what has happened long previously than upon any special measures or special training [adopted] when the event itself takes place . . .⁴

³ N. W. Shock: "Physiological Changes in Adolescence," *Forty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I. Chicago: Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1944, p. 76.

⁴ James L. Mursell: *Education for American Democracy*. New York: W. W. Norton Co., Inc., 1943, p. 207.



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Social development as revealed through forms of recreation.

Furfey's studies of *The Gang Age* and *The Growing Boy* reveal that boys reach a stage of growth at which they break away from the gang and begin to enter into activities where girls are concerned. This desertion is not a sudden breach, and is seldom complete. Furthermore, it is usually aided by the fact that other boys of the gang have a similar inclination. The number with such an inclination increases in time, since physiological maturity is advancing throughout the group.

Since boys and girls though of the same age do not develop uniformly, there will be a variation in their desires for social experiences. And, although social participation is essential for healthy social development, boys and girls should not be pushed into such experiences before they have reached the stage of social and emotional maturity at which they are ready for them. There is, likewise, a corollary to this proposition, namely, that adolescents should not have the activities in which they desire to participate closed to them when they have reached the stage of development suitable to such participation. If social activities are provided periodically by the home, the church, the school, and other organizations concerned with the social development of boys and girls, there will be opportunities for the latter gradually to take part in them. Some of a particular age-group will be mere onlookers on certain occasions, but gradually the desire to play an active role will emerge, and later on they will begin to take some part in social activities; later still, there will probably be full-fledged and unanimous participation.

Heterosexuality. By heterosexuality is meant the focus of interest upon members of the opposite sex. The study by Kuhlen and Lee⁵ reveals an increase of heterosexual relationships with an increase in age. Their findings, based upon the choice of companions for a number of social activities and situations made by pupils at several grade-levels, are set forth in Table XXIV. Of the sixth-graders, less than one third choose companions of the opposite sex, but of the twelfth-graders, almost two thirds do so. There is also a significant trend for both boys and girls to choose as companions members of the opposite sex, as they advance from the sixth to the twelfth grade—the greatest change occurring between the sixth and ninth grades.

Now in adolescents a wide range of reaction patterns relative to the opposite sex exists, and it is very difficult to generalize concerning the

⁵ Raymond G. Kuhlen and Beatrice J. Lee: "Personality Characteristics and Social Acceptability in Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1943, 34, pp. 321-340.

TABLE XXIV

CHANGES IN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AT ADOLESCENCE AS SHOWN BY THE PERCENTAGE OF BOYS AND GIRLS AT DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS WHO CHOOSE MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX, AND ARE CHOSEN BY MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX, AS COMPANIONS FOR VARIOUS ACTIVITIES (*After Kuhlen and Lee*)

	GRADE		
	VI	IX	XII
Percentage of boys choosing girls.....	45.0	72.5	75.0
Percentage of girls choosing boys.....	39.2	59.7	63.0
Percentage of boys chosen by girls.....	31.2	49.1	65.8
Percentage of girls chosen by boys.....	30.8	52.4	59.7

reactions of the group as a whole. However, since the sexual urge is present in every individual and probably begins to function influentially, if indirectly, quite early in life, it is evident that the differences between the reactions of various adolescents result from the direction which this urge has been given, rather than from its mere existence. Heterosexuality itself can be properly established only by social contacts with members of the opposite sex, and in these contacts two environmental conditions are essential: first, members of the opposite sex must be of sufficient numbers, of appropriate age, and of attractive personal qualities; second, an intelligently encouraging attitude is necessary on the part of parents and others concerned with the individual's guidance and welfare. If these essentials are absent, the child may emerge from adolescence with warped and shameful attitudes toward sex matters that may encumber him permanently.

It has been observed that, in some species of animals, characteristic patterns of behavior appear *de novo* when pubertal changes in the primary and secondary sexual characters and accessory organs of sex are most in evidence. Among the primates in particular, a limited amount of sexual play is said to appear prior to the pubertal changes. In either case it can be said that the sexual drive is greatly augmented as the time of somatic puberty approaches, and that it continues to grow in strength for some time thereafter by virtue of factors of maturation and of sexual contacts and experiences. Since the sexual drive is at heightened strength as a result of the developmental processes at work, the manifestation of increased sexual activities and sexual play

by adolescents is to be expected. The savage youth was prepared to gain his living by the time the sex drive ripened. In contrast, it has already been revealed that in a civilized community most adolescents are in school when this happens, and that economic security and independence are still a dream. It is therefore not possible for the fourteen- or fifteen-year-old boy or girl to enter into economic pursuits in order to support a family; moreover, customs as well as laws do not permit him to do so; and yet, there has been no significant change in the period of the onset of the sex drive.

Dating during adolescence. The extent of dating by high school students will depend upon the customs, living conditions, social backgrounds, and special interests of the particular age-group concerned. Seniors date more than freshmen, and report chaperonage less frequently. This, no doubt, reflects their greater social and physical maturity, and the increased willingness of their parents to allow them, as they grow older, to associate freely with members of the opposite sex. Harold H. Punke⁶ reports a study of youth from nine states, ranging from North Carolina and Pennsylvania in the east, to California and Washington in the west. Materials relating to frequency of dating are presented in Table XXV. According to these data, no sig-

TABLE XXV

FREQUENCY OF DATING OF HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS, AND SINGLE VERSUS DOUBLE DATING, ACCORDING TO GRADE AND SEX OF PUPIL (*After Punke*)

GRADE AND SEX OF PUPIL	FREQUENCY IN NUMBER OF DATES PER MONTH					SINGLE VS. DOUBLE DATING	
	Num- ber Report- ing	Percentage Distribution, according to Number of Dates per Month				Num- ber Report- ing	Percent- age of Dates That Are Double Dates
		<i>None</i>	<i>1-4</i>	<i>5-10</i>	<i>over 10</i>		
Freshman: Boys Girls	1276	53.8	20.6	16.0	9.6	623	45.4
	1490	53.0	21.3	17.0	8.7	814	81.0
Senior: Boys Girls	1408	21.6	29.5	28.9	20.0	1094	55.6
	1454	13.6	19.4	33.1	33.9	1412	80.6

⁶ Harold H. Punke, "Dating Practices of High-School Youth," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, January 1944, 28, No. 119.

nificant sex differences appear among the freshmen; this, even though girls mature earlier than boys, a circumstance that suggests greater parental restriction of girls' social life. Senior girls, however, according to these data, do more dating than senior boys; for this there are several possible explanations, but it is quite likely that many of the former are dating older boys who have already finished high school, a supposition in harmony with findings relative to the earlier marriage of girls than of boys.

In Punke's study the students were asked to indicate, in order, the three types of activities in which they most frequently engaged, and the three types which they preferred. The answers to these questions were tabulated for Georgia and California. There was very little difference between the activities listed as most commonly engaged in and those preferred. The three items that led both of these lists were: dancing, attending movies, and riding in automobiles. Punke concludes further:

In California both freshmen and seniors of both sexes ranked movies highest among things done, whereas in Georgia boys of both grades placed car-riding first among things done, and girls gave first place to movies. For both grades and sexes in California, dancing was intermediate between car-riding and movies so far as activities engaged in were concerned, whereas in Georgia, both sexes combined, the freshmen placed dancing first among those three activities and seniors placed it last. In both states and for both grade levels, boys reported that they engaged in some type of athletic activity when on dates more typically than did girls—*i.e.*, tennis, swimming, bowling, skating, hiking. It is interesting that members of both sexes, for both grades and both states, reported that when on dates they *engaged* in athletic activity much more commonly than they observed athletic events. In Georgia youth engaged in religious activity when on dates to a substantially greater extent than was true in California, and in Georgia seniors of both sexes engaged in such activities more extensively than did freshmen.⁷

Petting is the current slang expression for a form of behavior that has been variously named by each succeeding generation—in all cases it refers to the variety of acts of a more or less sexual import. Such acts are not confined to any one generation or to any particular race or tribe; their manifestations vary as a result of manners, customs, traditions, and education. Concerning such activities Louttit says:

This is a problem of adolescence, the seriousness of which depends largely upon one's point of view. The greatest harm comes from the excessive emo-

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

tional stimulation which frequently is uncontrolled. A sane sex education which gives the child some sense of values is of much greater usefulness than endless preachments or attempts at strict deprivations.⁸

Desire for social approval. The desire for social approval has often been referred to as instinctive, but there is ample evidence from various observations and studies to show that it is chiefly due to the experience of the individual. The fact that we find social consciousness so clearly revealed in the life of the adolescent lends support to the contention. However, regardless of the extent to which it is instinctive, it does operate as a powerful motivating force during adolescence. The desire for social approval no doubt has as its basis certain major and subtle emotions, and furthermore it may be found existing in many forms during this period.

Sex, notions of self, and the like, play a prominent part in the individual's growth and development. It is through these that the group is able to establish and maintain uniformity in manners, styles, and interests. The force of public opinion tends to cause the adolescent to accept readily the standards and customs of the social group; because of public opinion the individual endeavors to further his position in life, and takes pride in his success. The desire for social approval becomes integrated early with the major biological forms of motivation of sex and hunger, the natural tendencies of the individual becoming so modified as to gain it. The very fact that this desire is operating in the life of the individual is evidence that he is becoming a full-fledged member of the social group.

"In the higher forms of social integration, the dominance often goes out of the hands of a single man and is crystallized into law, customs, traditions, and social sanctions. . . . In most social organizations there is a limit to the powers of the dominant person, idea, custom, or force."⁹ Now if we begin to study these limitations, we shall probably find homogeneity to be the main force. As the child reaches maturity and becomes more and more a social rather than an individual creature, the force of the role and opinion of the group grows stronger, and is especially prominent in the development of social consciousness. But if the adolescents of the group are homo-

⁸ C. M. Louttit: *Clinical Psychology*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936, p. 330. (Reprinted by permission of the publishers.)

⁹ Mark A. May: "The Adult in the Community," *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.). Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1929, p. 782.

geneous, the customs, rules, and so forth will play a still more important role than they would otherwise. Homogeneity itself depends upon communicability, similarity of interests and beliefs, and—especially—similarity of general racial features. When this homogeneity exists, control and social integration are more easily effected—a fact which should be carefully observed by those in charge of our educational practice and by those dealing with clubs and group programs designed for adolescents.

Again, the desire for social approval might be thought of in connection with more complex adjustments in the life of the adolescent. Let us consider the “sweet girl graduate” from high school just prior to her graduation, and assume that she desires a certain graduation dress and other novelties which will blend with each other and with her general make-up. The images of these articles as they would appear on her constantly run through her mind. She imagines her friends’ approval of this attractive outfit; she imagines herself winning Jack’s attention, which she desires greatly. But the economic conditions of her family are such that she cannot purchase the clothes, and she therefore must either do without the costume or find some means as yet unknown to purchase them. Thus one will find adolescents and post-adolescents often willing to resort to questionable devices in order to win the approval of their friends. Here we find the girl resorting to various devices in order to appear sexually attractive to the boy she admires. The beautiful wearing apparel will help her to become more attractive, and she recognizes that Jack is quite fond of such a type of costume; she may therefore deprive herself of the movies, other amusements, and even food in order that she may be able to buy what she considers necessities. Again, even petty crimes or misrepresentations may be resorted to in order to win social approval. The average high school girl’s ego complex is well-developed around certain erotic tendencies, and these become more powerful as they involve the approval or disapproval of the male sex. The pleasures derived from some of the more primitive and subtle elements of original nature may even become secondary to those acquired and maturing forces of human nature sometimes designated as the sex instinct.

The study by Kuhlen and Lee¹⁰ throws some light on changes in acceptability of traits from the sixth to the twelfth grade. The five traits most highly related to and the five least related to acceptability at these grade levels are presented in Table XXVI. The traits “enthusi-

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

TABLE XXVI

TRAITS HAVING HIGHEST ASSOCIATION WITH ACCEPTABILITY

Boys		Girls	
Sixth Grade	Twelfth Grade	Sixth Grade	Twelfth Grade
Cheerful (96)	Friendly (81)	Friendly (83)	Popular (73)
Enthusiastic (92)	Initiates games (81)	Enthusiastic (80)	Friendly (72)
Friendly (92)	Enthusiastic (77)	Good-looking (73)	Enthusiastic (69)
Popular (88)	Cheerful (69)	Popular (72)	Sociable (69)
Good-looking (80)	Popular (69)	Initiates games (66)	Enjoys jokes (65)

TRAITS HAVING LOWEST ASSOCIATION WITH ACCEPTABILITY

Enjoys fight (12)	Seeks attention (27)	Bosses others (0)	Bosses others (31)
Acts older (12)	Restless (19)	Talkative (-3)	Talkative (31)
Seeks attention (12)	Bosses others (17)	Seeks attention (-4)	Restless (25)
Bosses others (0)	Enjoys fight (16)	Enjoys fight (-11)	Enjoys fight (21)
Talkative (-4)	Acts older (4)	Restless (-31)	Seeks attention (14)
Restless (-28)			Acts older (-25)

astic," "friendly," and "popular" are found in all categories of high acceptability; whereas the traits "bosses others," "enjoys a fight," and "seeks attention" are found in all categories of low acceptability.

The adolescent age is an acutely self-conscious one, and for this reason there is need for increased tolerance of the adolescent's demands, ideas, and desires as they relate to his personal appearance. If the other girls go in for nail polish; if they wear peculiar-appearing hairdo's—far less becoming in a mother's view, than an attractive bob—still, that mother would be wise to permit her daughter these forms of adornment. In so doing, she gives her greater self-confidence in the society of her peers. This is not to say that the mother should not express her preference for the coiffure more attractive by her own standards; however, parents and teachers should realize that there is a difference between having standards and imposing them.

Aberrations. In the earlier years of life the sex impulse appears to act rather vaguely and indirectly, and therefore often assumes a form wholly out of line with the normal course and final outlet. The relationship between conduct during the earlier years of life and later sex life is not clear, but there is evidence that sex is somewhat related to the love behavior of the young child. With the development of the sex glands, and the maturation of the individual both physically and socially in a social world, many factors may operate to cause behavior resulting from the release of certain drives to deviate from a normal

or socially acceptable course. Some of these factors are: repression, ignorance, sex phobias, disgust, curiosity, or some other conditions emotionally toned. It is during the stage of the operation of such factors that trial-and-error behavior ensues. The subject will try many methods of adjusting himself sexually, and some of his efforts may result in perversions—habits which are undesirable either because they will bring ultimate personal dissatisfaction or because they interfere with normal social relations.

Sometimes an extreme attachment will develop between members of the same sex rather than, as is normal, between members of opposite sexes. This is referred to as homosexuality and happens especially when there is a complete absence of the members of the opposite sex during recreational and play life, or when there is an excess of teasing or ridicule about members of the opposite sex; or, still further, when there is a rather complete segregation of the members of one sex from those of the other. Crushes are especially prevalent among girls in camp. At this time the girl is separated from her family and from many of her past friends.¹¹ The setting, perhaps, is unfamiliar, and there is a lack of a feeling of security. From this lonely and unfamiliar situation, crushes are likely to develop, as a result of the closer contacts and intimacies of a twenty-four-hour-a-day program of living with others. On the other hand, an emotional shock due to frightful stories about sex activities may develop a sexual phobia or a feeling of disgust for members of the opposite sex that will tend to lead to aberrations.

Ackerson's study¹² showed that problems of homosexuality were exhibited by about 5 or 6 per cent of boys, but by practically no girls. There are evidences that this is a low estimate, and certainly there is no reason to believe that homosexual acts are not indulged in by girls. Davis¹³ found that over 50 per cent of 1,181 unmarried women who were college graduates admitted having homosexual experience. Of these, 43.5 per cent began such experiences prior to going to college, and 35.5 per cent during the stay at college. These findings indicate that the problem is not unknown among adolescent girls. Louttit says: "Homosexuality may be considered psychologically abnormal when

¹¹ See E. V. Van Dyne: "Personality Traits and Friendship Formation in Adolescent Girls," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1940, 12, pp. 291-303.

¹² Luton Ackerson: *Children's Behavior Problems*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

¹³ Katherine B. Davis: *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929.

it is the preferred type of sexual adjustment; it may be psychologically normal when it is the only sort of adjustment possible."¹⁴

One cannot lay down a fundamental principle whereby all aberrations can be graded or classed together, nor can the same causative factors be used in explaining all such behavior activities. Emotional stimuli or inadequate information may lead to a turning of the emotional life from members of the opposite sex to those of the same sex. A natural development of the subject in wholesome company with members of both sexes is essential for normal adolescent development. True, aberrations among adolescents could be avoided by permitting the sexual drives to find release in heterosexual mating. However, this is contrary to the practices and philosophy, to the customs, mores, and institutions of our civilization. Perhaps we will have to agree with Professor Leta Stetter Hollingworth that in the present state of society and public opinion there isn't a plausible solution to the problem.¹⁵ Washburne has pointed out in this connection:

In the solving of sex problems, as in the solving of all problems of opposed values by means of rational control, two things are of prime importance: first, that the opposed values be clearly seen by the individual involved and that their relative weights be taken into account by him; second, that the individual learn tension-tolerance by means of organizing his activities in the direction of (and by taking first steps toward) the chosen, deferred value.¹⁶

It is not to be inferred here that guidance is unnecessary. Guidance, necessary at all stages of life, is especially necessary during the plastic years before ideals and attitudes desirable for the welfare of the group have been established. The failures during this period of life can very likely be traced to one or a combination of the following factors: (1) failure in some form of care and supervision; (2) inadequate or inaccurate information concerning sex life; (3) the development of sexual phobias or disgust, and (4) lack of proper playmates of both sexes.

Self-assertion before the opposite sex. McDougall points out¹⁷ that self-display during the mating season, particularly by the male of a

¹⁴ C. M. Louttit: *op. cit.*, p. 330.

¹⁵ Leta S. Hollingworth: "The Adolescent Child," *Handbook of Child Psychology*. Worcester: Clark University Press, 1933, p. 891.

¹⁶ John N. Washburne: "Interpretation of Adolescent Psychology and Needs," *Teachers College Record*, 1940, 42, p. 260.

¹⁷ William McDougall: *Introduction to Social Psychology*. Boston: J. W. Luce and Co., 1923, pp. 62-66.

species, is the first manifestation of self-feeling; and this, he goes on to say, is connected with elation—or, in man, with a self-conscious attitude relating to the self's well-being and therefore forming a basis for pride. During the mating season there seems to be an overstock of energy which is stored up in animals and is released in the various courting acts which are initiated in response to specific stimulations. In certain species, notably among birds of prey, both male and female show this exuberance, and it is quite common to find it expressed through wonderful flying performances, circlings around each other, and calls peculiar to the kind. The male's showing-off before the female is particularly spectacular. Doubtless a feeling of pleasantness arises from these performances, owing to the growth and maturation of physical structures and reflex co-ordinations and the general release of bodily tensions.

Darwin gives a most striking picture¹⁸ of display by male peacocks and pheasants—their gorgeous crests and tails are given the optimum display before the female. Darwin further writes that the Angus pheasant appears to observe carefully the female's responses to his show; and this could be explained adequately not as a result of some instinct of pride but rather as pride which has developed from experience and from the structures of the organism that are now coming to fruition. This courting among various animal types involves activities somewhat subsidiary to sexual ends, and playful exercise is a consequence of superfluous energy which becomes in part directed toward members of the same species and of the opposite sex.

In the human race this assertive tendency can also be seen. Witness the young adolescent, with his daring spirit, overexertion, and constant display of strength and skill. His situation is similar to that of Darwin's pheasant. And the same can be said of the female of the human species: her feminine manners, her slyness, and her persistent efforts to outwit her rivals are all manifestations of this same tendency. Bronner writes:

It is certainly clear that in order to reach normal adult stature the adolescent must pass, during these years that comprise the adolescent period, from early lack of sex consciousness to a stage characterized by the exact opposite, namely, sex consciousness, and then to the stage of attraction to the opposite sex. The preadolescent boy or girl has very little use for those of the opposite sex. The boy considers his sisters and her friend a nuisance; the girl considers her brothers and his friends rough and rather to be avoided. There-

¹⁸ Charles Darwin: *Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1873.

upon ensues a time when each is shy and self-conscious in the presence of others; this to be followed e'er long by a stage in which each is attracted by, and wishes to be attractive to, the opposite sex. This last is the stage when in ordinary parlance the boy is in varying degrees 'girl crazy' and the girl, in some measure, 'boy crazy.'¹⁹

Students of physiology and child psychology have shown that the secondary sexual characteristics of both male and female are dependent, in the final analysis, upon certain internal secretions, particularly those of the sex glands. General internal changes prevalent during sexual excitation have an emotional tone and cause a general restlessness which involves the whole of the organism's behavior. Marston offers evidence that during this state there is, in addition, a general lowering of the blood pressure. The sacral division of the autonomic nervous system is, it will appear, operating more than normally, and this unusual operation tends to direct excessive quantities of blood and glandular secretions into channels which—although they are often not so recognized—are directly related to the sex emotion. These changes are a result of profound visceral and glandular changes and, as we have noted, tend to affect all behavior of the organism.

Not all members of the sexes are attractive to the opposite sex, nor does the same person make an equal appeal to all. Beauty, good manners, "feminine qualities," health, education, and "personality" are but a few characteristics listed by boys as desirable in girls. Feminine good looks are usually listed as most essential to sex attraction, but their evaluation will differ from decade to decade. During the latter part of the nineteenth century curves were deemed the ideal of beauty; but within a period of twenty-five or thirty years thereafter, curves seriously lost vogue. To draw conclusions, one need only to examine the styles of the past, whether of a century or several centuries, and compare them with each other and with those of today. Girls of former times had, indeed, their sex appeal; they were adored, surely. But if a girl were to appear today with their manners and dress, she would at best be viewed as a curiosity.

The generalization which might be made from these facts is that the current vogue in costumes, manners, language, interests, cosmetics, hairdressing, and so forth, makes for sex appeal among those contemporarily on the scene, but that if this vogue is revived later, its followers may be considered ridiculous. The modern mother who insists

¹⁹ A. F. Bronner: "Emotional Problems of Adolescence," *The Child's Emotions*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1930, pp. 228-229.

that her daughter imitate her in dress, manners, interests, and so on, either fails to recognize this truth or refuses to live according to its principle. When the facts are rightly understood, we may rightly appraise clothes, appearance, manners, and other subjects of controversy.

The response of the adolescent boy or girl to what is strange or forbidden must not be overlooked, for both curiosity and self-assertion are important in the motivation of conduct. Familiarity with an individual will tend to lessen the sex appeal of that individual. Thus, if the "new girl" in the community has a somewhat different sex appeal, she will have an advantage over the others. Fickleness is indeed characteristic of sexual phenomena, especially in adolescence; and, it may be observed, changes of style serve to augment it by renewing elements of "strangeness." On the other hand, the spirit of self-assertion, which has already been noted as related to sexual life and which we shall consider further later on in this study, leads to love-making in the face of great obstacles. Thus *forbiddance* and *self-assertion* are often present in behavior as a combination which should not be ignored—especially by parents. Because of this combination, troubles often develop between parents and children in connection with courtship and marriage.

Developing desirable attitudes towards members of the opposite sex. The social activities that permeate much of the club work and the extra-school life of adolescents are important avenues for the development of desirable boy-girl relationships. Through social affairs, boys and girls are given the opportunity of working together, and opportunities develop for a division of responsibilities on the basis of sex. Girls make cookies and decorate tables in home economics classes; the boys aid by making things in the shop. One group of boys and girls in a newly consolidated school in Tennessee, with a minimum of help and a maximum of encouragement from the teachers, provided a social-recreational room that became a real center for the community.

Many communities are alert to the interests and needs of adolescents. Recreation centers are being opened in which a reasonable amount of supervision is provided. At these centers boys and girls can meet to play quiet games, listen to the radio, sing popular songs around a piano, play cards, dance, read from current magazines, and the like. These centers may be located in quarters provided by the school, in an empty store, or in some other convenient place. Care should be taken that they be attractive in nature, and that they have supervision that is at once efficient and inoffensive. As much of the responsibility should be placed upon the boys and girls as they are capable of shouldering, in seeing

that the place is kept in order and that the group takes a part in setting the standard for its activities. Boys and girls will enjoy fixing up and running such a place, provided they are given the opportunity to do so and are made to feel that it is run for and largely by them.

The provision of a place where boys and girls can meet informally, without publicity and a great deal of fashion and show, is especially helpful to a large group of boys and girls who are not financially able to look for wholesome commercial entertainment, because of the expense involved. The attraction of the juke joint and the corner drugstore is largely the result of their satisfaction of certain needs and interests that are not satisfied by other means. The community can well afford to provide conditions for satisfying these needs in still fuller measure under conditions still more desirable.

Units of study in natural science give worthwhile information about the birth and care of living things; in the same way, the social sciences should give a richer understanding of man's institutions, customs, and ways of living. It is not necessary, however, that such a course of instruction be given in order to provide adolescents with worthwhile information and guidance, nor does the teacher need to provide even an isolated lesson or discussion, except as a special need may arise among a group of boys or girls.²⁰ Through ordinary classroom activities and school programs, materials may be presented and problems projected, provided the teachers do not take a "taboo" attitude towards a discussion of any problems that may have a direct bearing on sex education. In addition there is much information and literature that bring the students into closer contact with some of the problems directly related to social relationships between boys and girls. Many family problems are well illustrated in such books as Undset's *Kristin Lavransdatter*, Maugham's *Of Human Bondage*, and Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga*.

Summary. The growth and development of boys and girls into adolescents are accompanied by a changed attitude towards members

²⁰ This will depend upon a number of factors related to the nature and needs of the boys and girls growing up in the community. For materials related to sex education see: H. N. Baker: *Sex Education in High School*. Emerson Books, 1942. This book presents a survey of sex education in the various states, pointing out the techniques used, problems encountered, and outcomes of the work. It should be most helpful to those considering this problem for high school pupils. B. C. Gruenberg: *High School and Sex Education*. U. S. Public Health Service Bulletin No. 75, 1940. This is an excellent discussion of the problems related to sex education, designed for adolescent and postadolescent boys and girls. It may be secured from the Superintendent of Government Documents.

of the opposite sex. No longer does a boy look upon a girl his own age as someone to be avoided; he now sees her as a personality whose admiration he desires. The development of this changed attitude is a natural concomitant of the ripening sex drive.

Adolescents have, as one of the major problems of their development, that of identifying themselves fully with the role—masculine or feminine—characteristic of their sex, an identification which began during infancy, when parents and friends made simple distinctions between boys and girls. It is necessary for the individual to learn to play his sex-role, if he expects to be acceptable to members of the opposite sex. The infant is born without any awareness of sex or knowledge of its functions. Early in life, however, he learns that boys are treated differently from girls; he becomes familiar with the sex characteristics of his own body, and identifies himself with those characteristics; he accepts the attitudes of others concerning what is masculine and what is feminine; and if his sexual life and social contacts are normal, he eventually adjusts to his own and to the opposite sex in a satisfactory manner. The establishment of desirable heterosexual relations is an important part of social maturity. In the maturing process the adolescent faces many problems and tasks, some of which were considered in previous chapters, whereas others are yet to be considered in chapters to come. They may be summarized as follows:

... [The adolescent] must: (1) break away from a relatively exclusive dependence on his family and establish broader social contacts; (2) establish satisfying heterosexual relationships; (3) make vocational choices and move in the direction of efficiency; (4) make fundamental choices of allegiance; and (5) find and begin to assume his role in the social-civic life of the larger community. While performing these tasks, he needs to maintain affection and feelings of security in his immediate personal-social relationships, to develop a personal philosophy, and to establish a feeling of worth through achievement that will make him acceptable and successful in adult society. . . .²¹

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. How is language related to social development? Will language training speed up social development or the socializing process? Explain.
2. Just what is meant by social intelligence? What are some evidences of the presence of a high degree of social intelligence?

²¹ Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum: *The Social Studies in General Education*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940, pp. 92-93.

3. Observe the behavior of a group of sixth- and ninth-graders. What differences did you observe in their interest in members of the opposite sex?
4. Show how the sex drive is related to "the desire for social approval."
5. What are some cautions or principles to be followed in order to avoid the development of sexual aberrations?

For information concerning films for use in instructing youth and adult groups in problems of sex, address The American Social Hygiene Association, 1790 Broadway, New York, N. Y. The film, *The Gift of Life*, deals with the processes of reproduction through all forms of life. This is a 3-reel film, and can be shown one reel at a time to nature study and science classes. Another film, *For All Our Sakes*, is a talking slide. It is an excellent portrayal of the burden to society of venereal diseases and can well be shown as part of a total health program, rather than in an isolated manner, to junior and senior high school students.

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PART IV

THE GUIDANCE OF ADOLESCENTS

XV

The Hygiene of Adolescence

The advanced knowledge in the various sciences has given an increased interest and understanding of man at his different periods of life. The accumulated knowledge of the forces that affect the growth of adolescents has given renewed courage to those who would combat certain conditions that appear to affect adversely the physical and mental well-being of growing boys and girls. Today the term *hygiene* has taken on a very familiar meaning and is constantly found on the lips of the teacher, doctor, juvenile-court judge, social worker, and nurse; the term is used as well by those who are attempting to minister to spiritual needs and values. As a result of the widespread recognition of the importance of physical and mental health, it appears that this interest will do much to bridge the gulf that so often separates the thinking of students today. Although the concepts underlying a term such as *mental hygiene* may vary slightly, there is still a sufficient uniformity in interest, purpose, and understanding to give an impetus to the growing notion that the individual must be conceived of as a unit. It is this thought that has been followed throughout the discussions of the adolescent and it is such a concept that we must recognize to the greatest degree if we are to make the most effective approach to problems of the hygiene of adolescence.

Earlier interests. It was with the extreme cases of mental disturbances and abnormalities that mental hygiene first concerned itself and with which it is still most closely identified in the minds of many people. Some 400,000 patients are reported in mental hospitals in the United States; we are told that it requires more beds to take care of these mental cases than for all those in the general hospitals. If the present

rate of breakdown continues, one may forecast that approximately a million or a million and one-half of the children now enrolled in our schools will at some time in their lives become inmates of institutions for mental diseases or defects.¹

This earlier interest in the institutionalized psychotic led to a further study of his needs and problems, and this drew into the sphere of mental hygiene such information as would affect both institutional and community control of those so handicapped. It was at this point that community interest and school influences began to function, for community control is closely associated with adequate preparation for community living. The relation of mental disturbances to crime, a thought discussed further in the following chapter, made it imperative that mental hygiene should embody pertinent materials in the field of criminology, looking toward a better understanding of the individual, potential criminal and more recently toward efforts at the control and prevention of the developing of such criminal tendencies.

Prevention, not cure, as the modern aim of hygiene. Probably the two most important developments in relation to health within the last score of years are (1) the fuller recognition of the interrelation of the mental and physical well-being of the individual, and (2) the increased emphasis of illness-prevention, with the philosophy that, in general, prevention is better than cure. We are now living in an age of movement, speed, and organization, in which efforts are constantly directed toward efficiency. We set aside safety weeks, milk weeks, sanitary weeks, clean-up weeks, and many other types of weeks designed to aid in preventing widespread disease. Inoculations are given, water is purified, measurements are taken, clinics are held, playgrounds are established—all designed to aid in the prevention of ill-health among the citizenry. It is well recognized that many of the natural health influences of primitive life are absent in the more artificial life of today, and many obstacles to health have been set up through the development of our industrial life with all its many concomitants. Society is facing the growing problem of establishing conditions in the lives of growing boys and girls which will help to prevent unbalanced physical and mental conditions among them later in life.

Prevention, not cure, then, is the emphasis of modern hygiene. The more alert students of medicine are pointing more and more to this as a new philosophy of life and health. Their enlarged vision of a com-

¹ For statistics on this see: *How the National Committee for Mental Hygiene Is Saving Minds* (circular), New York, 1936.

munity maintaining its well-being through the practice of good health habits and the living of a well-balanced life will without doubt yield very good results when the public is brought to realize more fully the necessity of prevention. This philosophy will furthermore be one of the means of coping more effectively with the increasing problems of mental health; for, as we have noted, a growing recognition exists that these problems are inseparable from problems of physical health. The lines of demarcation are rather dim; there is overlapping, and there are mutual interactive effects caused by any imbalance.

Handicaps to the physical health of adolescents. There are several phases of this general problem dealing with handicaps to adolescent health, and in considering these we may tend to bring together some of the points already presented in connection with interests, volitions, religious growth, and personality development. Good health in its broadest aspect is essential to a well-balanced personality, for on it depend to a large degree energy, volition, ideals, and happiness. Analogous to poor health are individuals deficient in surplus energy, lacking in self-control, and with a pessimistic attitude towards life. During adolescence many handicaps are constantly thrown into the general life processes of the individual to the detriment of good health development, which is so great a potentiality and necessity in the making of a well-balanced personality.

One of the most important handicaps to adolescent health is due to the life activities of boys and girls that tend towards crowding. The theater, the school, the church, the dance, and the streetcar and the automobile all bring groups into close contact, within the range of spray ejected by sneezing and coughing. Many contacts are made also by handshaking, transferring books and other articles, etc. Such activities are very effective in spreading germs and thus developing diseases.

Another handicap to adolescent health is suggested in relation to mental-hygiene principles. The beneficial effects of exercise have been emphasized, and rightly so, within recent years; but temperance in play activities is most desirable. There is grave danger that, with the onset of adolescence and the fuller development of the internal organs related to respiration, exercise will be insufficient; the more solitary and intellectual pursuits of high school years are likely to diminish this exercise unwarrantably. On the other hand, overexertion in team activities may exist; hence, boys and girls in good health who are especially interested in athletic performances should be cautioned against exertion to the point of physical injury. Students are appealed to

through the force of rivalry and thus motivated to do their all for the sake of the school or organization to which they have firm loyalty. Exercise is often carried beyond the point of mere fatigue, stimulants even being resorted to in order to overcome complete exhaustion. Of course, the adolescent, who is constantly building up additional energy, can stand a great deal of exertion; but it goes without saying that activity should not extend beyond one's physical well-being and powers. Physical maturity, in particular, should be taken into consideration in the control of recreational activities.

A third handicap of adolescent health is that of dissipation. Until the beginning of adolescence, the child has usually had some reasonable guidance and discipline; his hours of sleep and meals, along with his appetitive habits, have been observed and provided for. But with the onset of adolescence, and with group situations playing an increasingly prominent part in his life, the individual tends to live in conformity with group desires and activities, which quite commonly involve smoking, drinking, irregular hours of eating and sleeping, and exposure to colds and drafts. In this connection it is worthwhile to consider the minimum dietary requirements of adolescents. There is an enormous increase in the daily calorie needs of the individual as he progresses toward maturity.² Among boys, the total daily calorie need may run as high as 4,000; among girls it sometimes reaches a figure in excess of 3,000. This increase is reflected in the large appetites that characterize many adolescents. There is, of course, wide individual variation in the total daily calorie need; it is, however, of utmost importance that the adolescent have a well-balanced and sufficient diet during this growing period.² Studies of undernourished children in some of the European countries during the period of the recent World War reveal that stunted development, malformations, and susceptibility to disease result from deprivation. As late as 1930 the White House Conference estimated that 6,000,000 children in the United States, under 19 years of age, were improperly nourished. Also, there is evidence that where a well-balanced diet is supplied, there is less tendency on the child's part to choose peculiar combinations of sweets and sour, and to depend upon "soft drinks" and sweets between meals.

A fourth handicap of adolescent health has its source in accidents, which may cause body malformations during this stage of life. The

² See Beatrice McLeod: *Teachers' Problems with Exceptional Children*, VI. *Children of Lowered Vitality*. U. S. Government Printing Office, Pamphlet No. 56, 1934.

daring spirit of adolescents will cause them to pursue activities that may and often do end in mishaps more than at any other period of life. The increased surplus energy, the greater emotional drive, the spirit of rivalry, and the new social contacts are all forces related to an accelerated and enlarged motor life. The awkwardness of the adolescent, his natural irresponsibility, and curiosity at this stage of his development tend to subject him to increased accident-hazards. This fact has been observed in the play of boys and girls around home and school, and in their work in industry.

During adolescence the individual has a superior amount of energy and is able to withstand adverse environmental and physical conditions to a greater extent than at any other period of life. The death rate is very low during this stage despite all the handicaps we have noted. However, the effect of all these forces playing upon the adolescent is either indirect or is delayed in results; the various situations and conditions with which the adolescent comes in contact will in all probability powerfully affect his further activities and tend to involve further changes of the personality. This development of further desirable or undesirable personality qualities should again be considered from the developmental viewpoint. It is here, as we have already seen, that a well-grounded and firmly rooted religious attitude, nourished and empowered by a well-defined habit system of initiative and self-control, may further desirable development.

*Adolescence as a period of morbidity.*³ It might well be stated as a general principle that any period of life during which pronounced physiological changes are taking place is a period of morbidity to diseased conditions related to such changes. Using this as a basis in studying the physiological changes, it becomes possible to note the diseases that are likely to result. Because of the nature of the life activities of adolescents, theirs is a period of life susceptible to body malformations and various mental maladjustments. Round shoulders and spinal curvatures, for example, may develop at this time. Furthermore, owing to the frequency of exposure to somewhat dangerous environmental situations, deforming accidents are likely.

Adolescence is characterized by diseased conditions and physical afflictions. Headaches, eye troubles, indigestion, respiratory troubles, malformation of bones, and infections are especially prevalent. Acne

³ For a good abbreviated discussion of some mental-hygiene problems of adolescents see E. S. Conklin: "Mental Hygiene Problems of Adolescents," *Harvard Educational Review*, 1938, 8, pp. 343-352.

is perhaps the greatest hazard to a good complexion among adolescent boys. It is present, in some degree, during pubertal development in approximately three-fourths of them, and has been found to be closely related to the increased activity of the sebaceous glands during puberty. Also, there is a chemical lack of balance at this stage of the male and female sex hormones, with the male hormone predominating.

According to Kleinschmidt,⁴ the two main causes for rejections of young men entering the armed forces in World War II were dental defects and eye defects. Table XXVII shows that these, combined with

TABLE XXVII
CAUSES FOR REJECTION OF YOUNG MEN ENTERING THE ARMED
FORCES IN WORLD WAR II

CAUSES	PER CENT	CAUSES	PER CENT
Dental defects.....	20.9	Ear defects.....	4.6
Eye defects.....	13.7	Food defects.....	4.0
Cardiovascular diseases.....	10.6	Lung defects, including	
Hernia.....	7.1	tuberculosis.....	2.9
Mental and nervous diseases.....	6.3	All others.....	24.5
Venereal diseases.....	6.3		

cardiovascular diseases and hernia, account for more than half the total. It is well known that these conditions do not suddenly develop as a boy reaches seventeen or eighteen years of age. The conditions responsible for rejection by the armed forces were present among the school children of a decade or more ago. Many educators, observing the deplorable physical condition of the youth of World War I, concerned themselves with a physical fitness program designed to develop stamina, strength, endurance, and agility; hence the increased interest in competitive athletic programs. There is ample evidence, however, that such a program is far from adequate, and that it fails to take into account (a) individual differences, and (b) functional health needs.

Mental hygiene must begin during childhood. It must be remembered that the adolescent is but a product of earlier experiences and that his development is gradual and continuous. Thus, if we are to understand the mental hygiene of adolescents, it is necessary to study the influences that have thus far affected them. The problems of adolescent mental

⁴ Earl E. Kleinschmidt: "Meeting Today's Health Problems," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 1943, 26, p. 12. (Data for Table XXVII are taken from materials presented in this article.)

hygiene have their inception in most cases in the early fondling and feeding activities of the growing newborn baby. The mother who feeds her child every time he cries is certainly teaching the child to dominate situations by violence; she is also failing to develop in him desirable habits of digestion and habits of self-control. Such early habits will become a part of the child's growing personality, with the result that later he will probably shriek with rage if his desires are not satisfied. Such a child, unless his behavior is modified by some trying experiences with other children, will likely develop with very poor preparation for adjustment to a social world in which responsibility and self-control are essential.

It should be remembered, however, that only probabilities can serve as guides. And, although most of the difficulties encountered during adolescence can be traced, at least in part, to early childhood experiences, it would be a fallacy to conclude that all childhood disturbances lead to adolescent difficulties. The life development of the individual is not predictable by such a simple cause-and-effect formula. Many persons with unfortunate childhood experiences pass through adolescence without undue difficulties, whereas others, whose childhood was untroubled, encounter much turmoil during the transition from childhood into and through adolescence. Peter Blos has pointed out that:

The storms of this period are not the result of single causes; they arise, rather, from various pressures coinciding in time. For example, a boy of fourteen whose overdeveloped body is going through a phase of rapid growth may weather his adolescence without trouble; he is more likely to develop difficulties if, at the same time, he is experiencing the added strain of a family break-up. On the other hand, the girl whose physical development progresses very satisfactorily and smoothly is in a favorable position to work out the relationship problems which have been with her for many years.⁵

The school and mental hygiene. The function of the school in the development of the child has been emphasized throughout this study of growing boys and girls and is recognized as important by organizations concerned with problems of growth. Practically all mental-hygiene societies are using the schools as agencies for furthering their work; in fact, practically all suggestions connected with mental-hygiene work include the use of the school in the program. Also, health clinics—designed rather to aid the child in adjusting the phases of his personality than to study behavior problems present in connection with environ-

⁵ Peter Blos: "Adolescence, Its Stimulations and Patterns," *Childhood Education*, 1941, 18, p. 83.

mental situations—are constantly held at schools to aid in the preservation of the health and sanity of youth.

No doubt many cases in need of mental-hygiene treatment will never come to the attention of a child-guidance clinic, a psychiatrist, or any other person or organization formally interested in these problems, but will have to be dealt with largely through a trial-and-error process carried on unconsciously in the home or school. The child spends the major portion of his time in the home and the school, where these problems are sure to be encountered in either a characteristic or a disguised form. Concerning this, Ryan states:

Mental health through education will be much farther advanced if the school becomes aware of its active function in community living and works systematically with other agencies, including churches and 'character-building agencies,' social workers, group education workers, the health forces, and other elements seeking a more wholesome life for human beings as individuals and as members of the community. Instead of insisting upon their traditional separateness, the schools should welcome any movement to pool their resources with those of other developmental agencies in the community working in one way or another in behalf of mental health.⁶

Public schools could probably make no greater contribution to the welfare of the nation than to assume a reasonable amount of responsibility for the mental health of these maturing boys and girls. Often it is only through the agency of the school that enlightened influences can operate. The old Greek maxim, "A sound mind in a sound body," should become more the general aim of the present-day school. It appears quite likely that, following the Reformation, interest in education was overdeveloped intellectually, and little thought was given to the physical and mental balance of students. It is only within recent years that the emphasis has begun to change, and efforts have been made—and are being made—to develop the physical well-being of growing boys and girls. Special classes have been organized in a large number of cities to correct existing unhealthy conditions.

However, these classes are able to take care of only a small proportion of those who might be classified as handicapped. It has been estimated that there are in the United States more than 10,000,000 abnormal and atypical children. The White House Conference⁷ has classified these children as follows:

⁶ Carlson W. Ryan: *Mental Health Through Education*. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1938, p. 304.

⁷ White House Conference: *Addresses and Abstracts of Committee Reports*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1931, pp. 292-293.

3,000,000 children with impaired hearing, 17,000 of whom are deaf.

65,000 visually handicapped children, of whom 15,000 are blind and 50,000 partially seeing.

300,000 crippled children.

400,000 tuberculous children and 850,000 suspected cases of tuberculosis.

450,000 children with cardiac limitations.

2,500,000 children with well-marked behavior difficulties, including the more serious mental and nervous disorders.

6,500,000 children who are mentally deficient (as newly defined), 850,000 of whom are definitely feeble-minded and 5,650,000 intellectually subnormal.

150,000 epileptic children.

200,000 who appear each year before the courts as delinquent.

A study of the health and physical measurements of delinquents will disclose a disproportionate number who used certain objectionable procedures for equalizing their chances of finding an outlet for some submerged drives. Case studies of delinquents indicate that in many instances the school aggravated their intolerable difficulty rather than aided it. Healy and Bronner⁸ point out:

Handicaps that lead the pupil to be teased by his school-fellows create the outstanding situations that we have known to be related to delinquency. In a number of instances when a boy was cross-eyed he found the jeering of his comrades quite intolerable. Extremely difficult delinquent cases have been based on this.

The terrible social handicap of stuttering has been discussed by a number of students in its relation to the development of a delinquent career. Other speech defects are looked upon as peculiarities that all too often provoke laughter rather than rational sympathy.

The undernourished child has been referred to in connection with problems of hygiene. It should be further stressed that a large percentage of delinquents are poorly nourished and in many cases suffer from serious diseased conditions. Many of these suffer from various digestive disturbances so prevalent among adolescent groups. Although it is very difficult to assign the exact causal factor present in most cases of problem behavior, it appears that unhealthy and handicapped states are closely related to conditions that operate to produce such types of conduct. Unguided or misdirected compensating trends which are an outgrowth of the physical condition quite often lead to behavior not socially approved but receiving considerable attention.

⁸ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner: "How Does the School Produce or Prevent Delinquency," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1933, 6, pp. 450-470.

A systematized or unsystematized program of mental hygiene should be considered in every school. And any program should include the following elements:

1. Teachers trained in the principles of child and adolescent psychology and of mental health.
2. A psychophysical study of every beginning pupil.
3. A reorganization of primary grades in harmony with the interests and nature of children, along with an opportunity for more systematic and careful observation.
4. A consideration of the integrative nature of the various agencies dealing with the training and development of children.
5. The development of schools and classes to care for the handicapped and deficient.
6. The focusing of the attention upon the causes underlying maladjustments, rather than upon behavior disorders as such.

That education is most hygienic which provokes and promotes the child's innate abilities and disposes him to be a good citizen. Hence educators, by developing well-balanced personalities among their pupils, may influence the ultimate mental vigor and health of the nation. Until the center of attention of the school is shifted from subject matter to pupils—to human beings—little progress will be made in the better understanding and guidance of adolescents in the formation of personalities that will be able to adjust to a rapidly changing civilization. Teachers who are irritable, who have no appreciation of human nature, who are interested wholly in subject matter, who "don't have time" to study a problem case, who themselves are ill-adjusted, cannot apply principles of mental hygiene in their school work that will aid the maladjusted and prevent others from becoming maladjusted. Teachers who gain the confidence and good will of their pupils, who are eager to aid them in their problems, who are sympathetic with them in their troubles, and who manifest an interest in their interests will be able to exert a profound influence in the prevention and treatment of the growing problems of maladjustment.

The term *physically handicapped* may be used to include those children suffering from defects or deficiencies in their physical make-up that present a handicap in the normal processes of life. Such conditions would range from defects of the eyes and ears to deficiencies in vitality. Various estimates have been made of the number of children suffering from such conditions, and some of this material was presented at the beginning of this chapter. The estimates range from less than fifty

per cent to as high as seventy-two per cent, the discrepancy thus revealed resulting from a number of factors, the most important of which is the lack of a standard as to what constitutes a defect. There are also differences resulting from the use of different techniques for determining defects, as well as variations from place to place and from period to period. Climatic and other environmental conditions peculiar to one section of the country may cause an unusually large number of defects of certain types to occur in that region, which are almost unknown in other sections less favorable to their occurrence. Considering the findings from the various studies, it seems safe to assume that perhaps sixty per cent or more of American children have some kind of physical defect.

The maturing adolescent. Throughout preceding chapters it has been emphasized that as the child grows into the period of adolescence, following that of childhood, he is truly entering upon a new sphere of activity. He is reaching into a new social atmosphere, the maturing physiological nature is asserting itself along new channels, and new impulses are arising. It has furthermore been pointed out that behavior is not explicable wholly in terms of the stimulus-response hypothesis but rather in terms of the individual as a whole. This means, in the case of the adolescent, his biological and sociological past, as well as the momentous present.

The adolescent, with his rapid physiological changes, with his new type of physical potency, with his increased physical strength and vigor, with his growing impulses relative to others, is not the same organism that responded to various stimuli during infancy and childhood; because of his organic changes his responses to various stimuli are quite different from what they were just a few years ago. At four years of age Tom will call to Mary, a neighbor's child, to climb over the fence and play in the sand pile with him. A little later occurs a shift in interest to games without sexual significance—on the contrary, a shyness is manifested toward the opposite sex. At the age of seventeen, Tom will likely be calling over the phone rather than over the back fence. This time the call will be for an automobile ride, a dinner dance, or a swim in the lake. The impulses prompting the call over the back fence to play in the sand and those prompting the call over the telephone to go for a ride or a stroll are different; the interests of a maturing organism have replaced those of the playful child.

Thus behavior changes somewhat in harmony with the physiological changes that are taking place at this period; also, with such changes in

behavior activities Tom and Mary face increasing responsibilities and increasing needs for adequate adjustments to a changing condition in their own life and environment. To express it analytically, the drives of both Tom and Mary have undergone pronounced changes. This is a clear illustration of the development of heterosexuality, referred to in Chapter XIV.

So that their responses may be adjusted in harmony with the changed physiological self, adolescents should be prepared to know and understand the nature and significance of the changes and activities that take place during adolescence. It is not enough that the child be informed concerning changes after they have begun; in fact, if those from whom he should have received information have not given it to him by this time, it is quite likely that he will have gained it from unguided and often ill-informed sources. Canivet⁹ found from a questionnaire given 697 men and 153 women that they had received information about sex between the ages of 8 and 12 years, the preadolescent stage of life. A child who is dealt with frankly, positively, and honestly by parents or other advisers will not, to satisfy a naïve curiosity, find it necessary to seek information through misinformed or otherwise questionable channels.¹⁰

Margaret Mead¹¹ found, during a year's stay with the Samoan people, an almost total lack of mental-hygiene problems. This she attributed in the main to frankness in dealing with problems of childhood and the open attitude toward physiological processes, functions, and changes. The consensus among physicians, biologists, psychologists, educators, and other students of human nature is that information should be given to the child in harmony with his curiosity and ability to understand. As Bigelow points out:

The accumulating evidence is pointing towards the conclusion that the 'critical' aspect of human puberty in highly civilized countries is probably due very largely to unhygienic conditions, most of which are preventable or correctable in childhood and adolescence.¹²

⁹ N. Canivet: "Enquête sur l'initiation sexuelle" (A study of sexual enlightenment), *Archives de Psychologie*, 1932, 23, pp. 239-278.

¹⁰ For a rather comprehensive discussion and guide to sex education developed for use in the schools, see F. B. Strain: *Sex Guidance in Family Life Education; A Handbook for Schools*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942.

¹¹ Margaret Mead: *Coming of Age in Samoa*. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1928.

¹² M. A. Bigelow: *Adolescence: Educational and Hygienic Problems*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1924, p. 33.

MENTAL-HYGIENE PRINCIPLES

Educate individuals in the meaning and significance of the changes and activities related to adolescence. This point has been discussed briefly in relation to the problem of adolescent maturity. By education is not meant here a formal education in ordinary academic subject matter. It is well known that a student may be an honor student in high school but a complete failure in his adjustments in life; that the model student as judged by the teacher may be and often is a mental-hygiene problem in the making. Judge Ben B. Lindsey found from his observations of problem cases which appeared before him that there was great need in many cases for further education—and sometimes re-education—in facts relating to the meaning of life, the personal experiences of life, and the relationship with others, all of which were closely related to the larger problem of making adequate mental adjustments.

Create an appreciation in each individual for humanity, art, and science. The true meaning of this principle is that each individual should be trained for esthetic appreciation. The boy or girl who can find joy and solace in reading a good book or studying some worthy piece of art will more likely cope with trying situations and make adequate adjustments than will those who have no wholesome interests of an individualistic nature. One should establish a balance between individual and group interests. It is through some of these activities that a tired or worried mind can find rest and happiness. Furthermore, in developing esthetic appreciations one is developing behavior patterns and attitudes that are definitely uplifting and of such a nature that they aid in the development and conservation of mental health.

Each person should be educationally and vocationally adjusted. The child who is encouraged to enter upon a curriculum not commensurate with his or her abilities is certainly not educationally adjusted. The child who is encouraged to direct his ambitions toward something out of harmony with his general aptitudes is not vocationally adjusted. Such conditions will contribute to the ill-health of a child. Everyone should be given tasks that require effort and initiative, but the efforts required should yield returns in the form of success. Success in various tasks becomes a great motivating force for further effort in the same general direction. It is well known that the dull child who is not kept busy owing to his inability to understand work, and the bright child who is not kept busy owing to his ability to perform work quickly and with ease, are potential problem cases. From these sources arise many dis-

ciplinary problems. Sherman presents a splendid illustration of the prestige and better adjustment attained by a high school boy through his interest in collecting:

He was below the class average scholastically, and had failed in two subjects. He evidently was suffering from many conflicts of inferiority. He complained that the teachers paid little attention to him, that he was not popular in school, that his parents accused him of laziness because his grades were below standard. When asked if he had any trait which made him superior to others he brightened. He said that some of the boys were becoming interested in him because he had a number of antiques. For the past six months he had spent his allowance on antiques—miniatures, swords, coins, stamps. He said that he was studying their history and that he expected to become an expert in that type of work.

Through the possession of antiques this boy gained the prestige he was unable to attain in other ways. Attention from other students was a strong incentive to further interest in antiques. The attention from his fellow-students tended to decrease his feeling of inferiority in regard to his scholastic attainment.¹³

Maintain a balance between work, rest, and play. The oft-quoted statement, "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," further clarifies our thought here. But it is no mere bromide to say that "idleness is the devil's workshop." If nothing definite to do is at hand, every opportunity exists for the individual to dwell upon his own difficulties, personal conflicts, and unfortunate experiences, with the result that he will probably develop pernicious ideas about himself and his place in the general social order. In play the individual will probably move out of this realm of self-consideration, and the stimuli to which he will be reacting in the play sphere will likely be so completely unrelated to the problems which concern him that they will not produce any egocentrisms or complex responses, but rather rest, freedom, and relaxation.

Develop self-control. It is most important for individuals growing toward adulthood to develop a reasonable degree of social maturity. Social maturity implies the development of self-control, and especially control over one's emotions. Some material bearing on the importance of emotional control, and on how emotional control may be acquired was presented in an earlier chapter. The confidence and moral stability that arise from an ordinary degree of success in exercising self-control are of utmost importance in relation to good mental—as well as to good

¹³ Mandel Sherman: *Mental Hygiene and Education*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1934, p. 173.

physical—health. In all activities, self-control is important for the initiation of such activities and their direction to a successful conclusion. A method of emotional control found to be most useful is that of indirect substitution:

We control one action by doing something else, one interest by developing other interests. We stop thinking of one thing by thinking of something else. Every interest is potentially a means of self-control. Control means the utilization of nervous energy in developing a new and healthful form of activity that may take the place of injurious emotions and unwholesome activities or mental attitudes. Control means co-ordination, wholeheartedness, and unity of personality. It is fully developed only by the education of a lifetime. Self-control should be developed to improve the civic character of the American people, as well as to foster the maximum health and well-being of individual citizens. Democracy requires individual self-control.¹⁴

Practice temperance in general. Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher, had this in mind when he said:

We must observe that in all these matters of human action the too little and too much are alike ruinous. . . . Too much and too little exercise alike impair the strength, and too much meat and drink and too little both alike destroy the health. . . . So, too, the man who takes his fill of every pleasure and abstains from none becomes a profligate; while he who shuns all becomes stolid and insusceptible.

In work, in play, in social activities, temperance should be observed—a point quite in harmony with what we have noted relative to hyper-emotional situations. If one establishes a balance in life and maintains it, one will not fall into mental and physical hazards as will the person who refuses to practice self-control.

Keep physically fit. The close relation between physical well-being and mental well-being has been emphasized throughout this chapter, as well as indicated throughout our review of the growth and development of adolescent boys and girls. It is widely realized that we are not so well-adjusted in our mental reactions when we are physically disturbed as we are when we have better physical balance. Furthermore, the alert physician is coming to recognize more and more the importance of a wholesome mental attitude in effecting better physical conditions. The individual who is diseased is a more likely candidate for mental troubles than the healthy individual. The human body is a totality, a completely integrated pattern of behavior, and the lack of

¹⁴ William H. Burnham: "Essentials of Mental Health," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 1940, 29, p. 272.

balance in the activity of one part will likely have an ill effect upon the activity of all other parts.

Since the individual is to be regarded as a unit, and since the entire personality may be colored by some faulty element in this total pattern, one should not neglect health or physical examination in a careful personality diagnosis. Behavior disorders, failure in schoolwork, or failure to adjust to fellow students are frequently to be understood only by reference to certain physical conditions—abnormalities and deficiency. Here is a boy who does not mingle with others and takes no part in the various extracurricular activities of the school. A careful physical examination reveals some internal disturbance which influences his whole personality. Here is a pupil who is failing in her classwork; her teacher is unable to understand her slothfulness and lack of interest. An examination reveals chronic fatigue due to insufficient rest and sleep. Pupils who are temperamental, slothful, untidy, or unkempt will probably be better understood once their physical condition is better known.

Develop habits of unselfishness. It is quite true that altruism can be carried to an extreme, but it is likely that individuals are self-centered from birth and grow to be sociable beings only through social contacts. Since practically everyone is destined to live a life in contact with others, he should develop habits of understanding and appreciating others; this means that each child should be trained to respect others' rights and privileges. By realizing our interdependence with others and striving for more adequate adjustments with the various units of our social group, we develop habits and attitudes that fit us to life as social creatures.

Develop normal social relations. It is indeed most unfortunate when children have no other children with whom to play, and when boys and girls of later and more social years, as of adolescence, have no one to share with them their troubles and some of their joys. Many a child, in fact, has home relations so unsympathetic that he is forced to do as a boy of twelve revealed to the writer recently: "Naw, I don't never say nothin' 'bout that at home. I do go and tell the coach, though, 'cause he promised not to tell, and I know he doesn't."

Close friendships should be formed by adolescents outside the home. It is not well in most cases for children of great difference in chronological or physiological age to form too close a friendship. This is probably true during adolescence more than at any other time of life, since differences stand out far more at that period than later. But con-

tacts with others, with similar interests, understandings, and abilities will aid in insuring a more balanced personality.

Facing reality. The positive phase of conduct should be emphasized, especially in the endeavor to establish normal adjustments in new and strange situations. There is evidence that the young adolescents of today are more capable of meeting new and strange social and moral problems than were those of two or three generations ago. Educational forces are developing in adolescent boys and girls habits of thinking and discriminating rather than those ready-made patterns of behavior that would have them follow a leader or a command blindly. They are more responsive to generous enthusiasm and more eager to follow noble ideals, once they have discovered them and are fully convinced of their value. They show the tendencies of a dynamic civilization rather than of a less active one and of the more seclusive ages of the past. In harmony with the development of modern youth in such a way that it will be able to face our complex social order with a spirit of freedom and honesty, Burnham writes:

To learn to face reality, to acquire habits of attention and orderly association, to develop wholesome interests, to control one's emotions, to co-operate in a normal social group; in a word, integration of the individual character and integration of the social group, are more valuable than the acquisition of all knowledge and the mastery of all conventional accomplishments. Thus the application of the principles of mental hygiene in all forms of education, whether in the home, the school, on the playground, or in industry, is essential for efficiency, happiness, and normal development.¹⁵

Frankly facing any problem situation is an effective aid in solving it. So long as one refuses to face the problem and its true form, just so long will the problem remain unsolved. The individual's habits relative to the problem thus become twisted, as it were, and finally a make-believe adjustment is made.

Summary. In our culture, growth into adolescence is accompanied by certain demands upon the individual. In the first place, he is required to accept more responsibility and, thus, to achieve increased independence. Secondly, he must affect a transition from interest in gang activities to interest in members of the opposite sex. Thirdly, he must adjust to his own capacities and limitations. Fourthly, he must learn to face reality.

Adolescence has been described as a period of danger for mental

¹⁵ W. H. Burnham: *The Normal Mind*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1924, p. 684.

and physical health. Many physical health-hazards appear at this age, and the adolescent needs guidance in meeting them. Childhood is regarded as the golden period for mental hygiene. Attitudes essential for desirable adjustments are in the formative stage at this time. Many of these are sufficiently formed to act as an aid or barrier to successful adjustments at a later stage.

The basis for the new impulses of adolescence is the development of the visceral organs of the body, and especially the sex and related glands. This development no doubt does much to give the adolescent a better and fuller understanding of his relation to others, and an admiration for those of the opposite sex. In fact, he experiences a new and heightened sensitiveness to all the phases of his personal and social environment. As was suggested in previous chapters, he now begins to heed the general approval of those about him; he begins to make a more careful inventory of his own personal qualities, and may easily develop a keener and more extensive display of achievement, in conflict with the fear of failure and thus of social disapproval or ridicule. This effort to adjust in harmony with the maturing self presents many vital problems to adolescents.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Look up further meanings of the term "mental hygiene." Why is it impossible to separate mental hygiene from physical hygiene?
2. Show how the 'stress and strain' of modern life may affect the physical and mental health of adolescents.
3. What are some of the major problems of the hygiene of adolescence? Are any of these problems peculiar to this specific period of life?
4. In what way is the teacher's task much larger than mere teaching? Give concrete examples.
5. In what ways may the home and the school, through co-operation, aid the adolescent pupil in gaining a better understanding of himself?
6. Show how mental-hygiene problems follow the developmental idea presented throughout this text.
7. Consider the mental hygiene principles set forth in this chapter. How would you rate these for value and importance? What others would you list?
8. Look up the principles of mental hygiene in some other source. How do they compare with those presented in this chapter?

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XVI

Guidance and Control

MEN AND NATIONS CAN ONLY BE REFORMED IN THEIR YOUTH;
THEY BECOME INCORRIGIBLE AS THEY GROW OLD. *Rousseau*

The control of adolescents' behavior activities has already been introduced in many and varied forms. It is directly related to volitional life, to moral and religious development, to development of character and personality, to avoidance of mental disturbances, and finally to guidance. There are two problems of a psychological nature involved in the final control of adolescent behavior, both of which center in the concept of habit formation and integration, which has been emphasized at length throughout this study. The first deals with the establishment of correct or desirable patterns of behavior, while the second, which is negative in nature, has to do with the elimination of undesirable behavior patterns. In the young child we have only the first problem to contend with; but only in an absolutely ideal situation would we find it the sole problem existing in adolescents' behavior.

Chapter XIII presented data showing that there is a preponderance of crime among our youths of today. There are many who despair of the frank self-expression of modern youth and its refusal to be blindly obedient to present-day customs and teachings. This attitude is by no means new, as was pointed out a number of years ago by V. K. Froula in his presidential address before the Washington Education Association.¹ He said:

Permit me to give you an example of a lamentation that is as old as the hills, but sounds like an excerpt from a fundamentalist's sermon: 'Our earth is degenerate in these latter days. There are signs that the world is coming to an end. Children no longer obey their parents. The end of the world is manifestly drawing near.' The clay tablet upon which this inscription was made 6,000 years ago was found by archaeologists somewhere in the Mesopotamian Valley and now reposes in the British Museum with other relics of past times.

¹ V. K. Froula: "Education and Public Morals," *Washington Educational Journal*, November, 1927.

THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

A diagnosis of the causes of delinquency. Chapter XIII was devoted to juvenile delinquency, and according to the summary presented on page 222 there can be no single cause listed for all crime, for a major portion of crime, or in most cases for any one crime. Even antisocial tendencies and minor forms of antisocial behavior are conditioned by many forces that have played upon the individual. This is well borne out by the very extensive "Studies in Deceit" conducted by Hartshorne and May.² Approximately 11,000 children ranging in age from 8 to 16 years were tested for cheating, lying, and stealing in work done at home. As many as 29 opportunities for deception were offered and the various factors connected with deception then studied. Positive correlations were found between deception and age, emotional instability, lower socio-economic status and inferior cultural background, and other undesirable home conditions. Grade retardation was directly related to deception. Honesty was found to be related to good school achievement, desirable home conditions, other desirable habit systems, and more progressive methods in school. Sex, physical conditions, Sunday-school enrollment and attendance, and mere membership in some organization designed to teach honesty were unrelated to the results obtained from the tests.

Some major factors are prevalent as causative factors in crime, and if society expects to make progress in preventing crime, the trouble must be attacked at its source. It has already been suggested that crime, like the problem of coping with health, may be dealt with by prevention—or by efforts to restrain criminals. From the standpoint of economy, social welfare, and group morale, prevention certainly is more practical. But any program of prevention should be constructed on the basis of a careful diagnosis of causes. Accepting, then, the causes set forth in Chapter XIII as important to means of preventing delinquency, we may suggest the methods that seem most suitable in connection with juvenile crime.

The home and delinquency. In viewing the home as it relates rather directly to the formation of delinquent habits, one should recognize in the beginning that the improvement that can be wrought here is seriously limited by many factors. In the first place, the sanctity of the home and marriage ties gives the home first claim to the develop-

² H. Hartshorne and M. A. May: *Studies in the Nature of Character by the Character Education Inquiry*. I: "Studies in Deceit," 1928.

ment of the child's habit systems. This has been true all through the ages and is fundamental in solving the problem of delinquency through studying the home as an agency quite responsible for it. Again, the secrecy and privacy of the home as a close-knit institution create the further problem of improving home attitudes and conditions. Finally, the child's earliest habits and attitudes are formed almost wholly in relation to or because of a lack of home contacts; the home is a primary group that operates face-to-face with the child over a great number of hours each day of the year. These factors, then, make the home a powerful, well-nigh impregnable force in the development of desirable or undesirable behavior patterns, barriers being set up against the intervention of society for the aid of the child.

Healy and Bronner³ state as a result of their comparative study—previously mentioned—of 105 delinquents matched with the same number of non-delinquent siblings:

As a logical outgrowth of our study which shows that parent-child relationships play such a part in the production of delinquent proclivities, we are inclined to believe that the single direct attack of greatest value may be through widespread parental education—to be sure not an easy task.

Treatment as shown from various follow-up studies is extremely uncertain. It must concern the family and neighborhood pattern situation and this makes of it in so many cases a well-nigh hopeless task. However, the writer is not advocating that those concerned should adopt a fatalistic attitude toward the home and neighborhood situation; he would prefer to present this as a challenge to those who would adopt a positive, sympathetic, and understanding attitude.

Despite the development of the school as a secondary group in which character and personalities are often guided and molded along varied lines, the home is today the most potent factor in the building of character in growing youths. It is in the home that the child receives true lessons, indirect and unsystematic but meaningful, presented in the conduct of the father or mother. When the boy learns that the father considers it shrewd to keep extra money given to him by mistake in exchange for goods, to evade taxes, to misrepresent values in a "deal," his ideals are usually being established. The school might furnish ideas, information, and skills to aid the child in life's struggle; but the standard of conduct and ideals is really set forth by the examples of parents.

³ William Healy and A. F. Bronner: *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935, p. 217.

The school and delinquency. The failure of the junior and senior high schools to adjust their programs in harmony with the interests and abilities of the increasing number of pupils entering high school is probably the greatest accusation that might be heaped upon them. This failure is probably a result of a false application of our democratic ideal. It should be the aim of the school to give the child the opportunity to develop those abilities he possesses, rather than to set up a great educational ladder to fit the abilities of all. An interesting approach to the problem of providing for the dull-normal pupil during the junior and senior high school period is presented in the program at Newark, N. J.:

The Essex County Vocational Schools have made an interesting contribution toward the solution of the problem of the dull-normal student through the organization of multi-occupations courses for boys and girls based on a survey of both the semi-skilled jobs and the semi-skilled workers of industry. These are designed to develop versatility in performing a wide variety of semi-skilled processes selected from a number of industries. Thus these schools have set up a clear-cut distinction between training for the semi-skilled field and the skilled field, training in the latter being offered only to those able to profit from such experience. Students enrolling in the multi-occupations courses have been classified by the academic schools as ranging anywhere in the mental scale from superior to slow.

Typical teaching methods in these multi-occupations courses include: an emphasis on individual instruction, placing all shop and related instruction on an activity basis (e.g., students are taught how to measure with micrometers by using them and how to manipulate the fractions involved—they are not taught fractions abstractly and then shown how to apply them); and free reading based on interests and abilities, utilizing industrial methods and emphasizing real jobs (making bolts, screws, etc., needed by other departments of the school). Each student performs as many different types of jobs as possible, notes carefully how each job is done, learns why it must be done in certain ways, perceives the common elements in different jobs, and looks for familiar elements in new jobs. Each process is closely related to several other processes to permit a worth while carry-over.⁴

Dissatisfaction with school work grows out of one or a combination of several things, among which are: (1) lack of ability to do the work, (2) lack of interest in the work, (3) influence of the home or some companion in connection with the school program, or (4) a general personality conflict with those in charge of the school work that must be met in a face-to-face manner. Truancy from school on the

⁴ Mary P. Corrie: "An Adjusted Curriculum for the Dull-Normal Pupil," *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, 1938, 17, pp. 34-39.

part of one individual and then others is quite often the beginning of mischief that leads to the juvenile courts. Hence the school, by directing a part of its attention to problems related to truancy, can aid considerably in stopping crime at its very beginning. Truancy and delinquency constitute a problem directly related to the program of educational and vocational guidance. Investigations bear testimony to the effects of failure in school work, emotional disturbances that may be aggravated by school situations, and the harmful effects that companionships established at school have on the development of acts of mischief and ultimately delinquent behavior patterns. The school, therefore, in all of its drama of social duties and privileges and with all of its desire for high standards of achievement, has a greater significance than that of a mere dispenser of a traditional academic education.⁵

The neighborhood. The social environment of adolescents is not restricted to the home and the school; another primary determinant, the neighborhood, also exerts a powerful influence. It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that the school grade and neighborhood were the great determining factors in the choice of chums. Yet the neighborhood is not only an important factor in the choice of playmates; its ideals in connection with the community are forces that determine to a large degree the behavior activities of growing boys and girls.

In Chapter XIII the relationship between defective neighborhood conditions and crime was pointed out. Thus the problem of constructing neighborhood conditions so as to reduce considerably the development of juvenile delinquents is a problem of importance for the community, state, and nation. Various civic organizations are now recognizing the importance of desirable conditions in the community for the perpetuation of good citizenship; more emphasis than formerly is being placed on it. Neighborhood factors, unlike home factors, can be more readily conditioned so that the causative elements of crime can be in the main eliminated.

All children, privileged and underprivileged, take what the community offers them. Now it was pointed out in our discussion of social development during adolescence and of adolescent interests, that a widened interest in group activities develops during the teen age; the adolescent craves adventure and opportunities to act as an independent human being. Therefore, if the conditions of the neighborhood are such that no supervised opportunities are offered for individual expres-

⁵ See W. Healy and A. F. Bronner: "How Does the School Produce or Prevent Delinquency?" *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1933, 6, pp. 450-470.

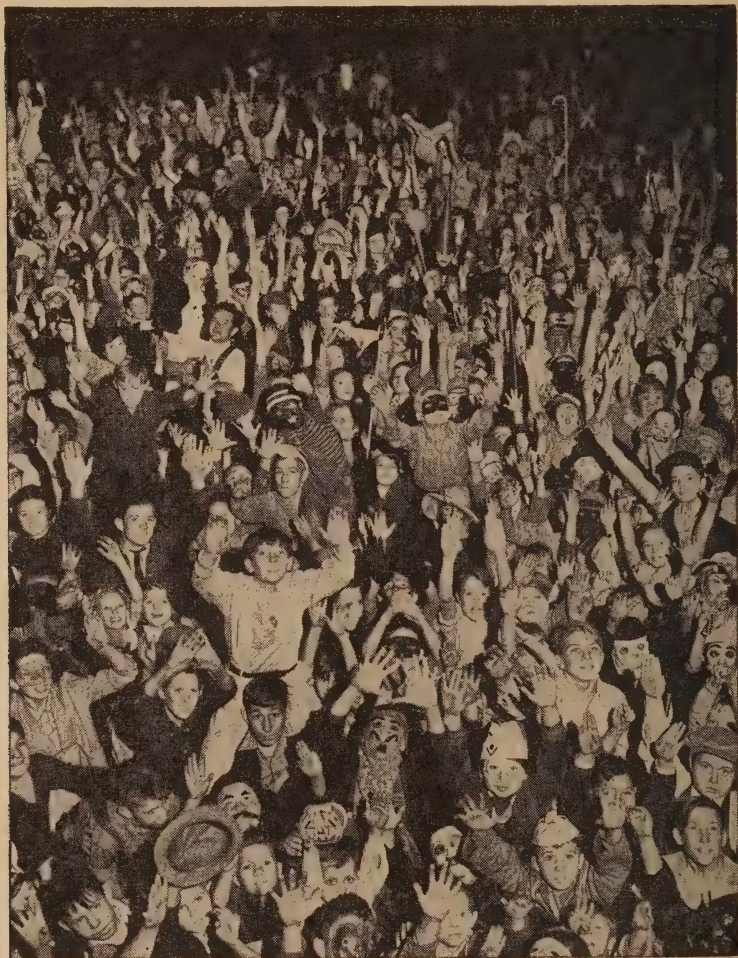
sion and group activities, groups will develop without supervision. Actually, a properly led or conducted gang may do much to prevent delinquency. Within the past half century, civic organizations and neighborhood agencies of various types have fostered the development of the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, camp-fire groups, Hi-Y Clubs, and other organizations designed to direct the adventurous spirit of adolescence into desirable forms of conduct. The gang may resemble the more stable social institutions in that it becomes a powerful influence in the prevention of delinquent tendencies if it is properly organized and directed. But if it is improperly directed, it is, of course, likely to become a potent force in the development of juvenile delinquency.

Recreational facilities are being developed more and more, and it has been well demonstrated that directed activities through recreational programs will do much toward thwarting the pranks and mischief of adolescents that may not appear bad in themselves but are often quite costly and, still worse, lead too often to dire consequences. The ways in which some communities direct the energies of boys and girls is well illustrated in connection with Halloween activities. The mischief associated with the mystic orange-and-black traditions has in many cases been very expensive as well as annoying. Many cities organize costume parades, various types of contests, and directed games. The picture on the following page shows a crowd of children from the schools of Kansas City enjoying themselves during the picturesque Goblin parade of 1938.

Co-operation of all agencies. The most ambitious school could not prevent delinquency through its own channels alone. However, the lack of preventive means does not relieve the school of the obligations related to adopting materials and methods that will aid in the prevention and control of delinquent trends. The work of the school will become most effective when it is co-ordinated with other community agencies that reach children or can reach them during the out-of-school hours. The value of different club activities, park and playground facilities, civic organizations, camp groups, and special recreational programs has already been discussed. Through co-ordinating the work of the school with the expanding programs of these agencies and groups, much can be done to wipe out delinquency.

The teacher, the social worker, or the physical education director who assumes the attitude of a counselor should be acquainted with the work of these various agencies. A fast-changing social institution that is functioning very effectively in this connection is the juvenile court.

If a sympathetic and understanding attitude is adopted by the juvenile court judge (and the writer has observed a number of such judges, who recognize and use methods and procedures beyond the verbal ones set forth by the laws), and if his work is carefully co-ordinated



A joyous halloween occasion.

with that of skillful, understanding teachers and others concerned with the guidance of boys and girls, much will be done to solve the problem of juvenile crime. Also, the church is beginning to recognize the need for changing its procedure. But here again we find the sin of omission rather than commission. A study of the percentage of criminals in our reformatory schools who are church members will reveal that the doors of the church have at least been passed through, insofar as

joining the church is concerned. However, follow-up work on the part of the church, the provision for recreational and social needs of members, has only recently been realized as essential in the work of the church.

Control and guidance through participation. The control of the behavior of those persons at each extremity of the range of intelligence is a different problem. Children of inferior mental ability are detected by the beginning of adolescence, if not before, for at this stage certain forms of adjustments and thinking requiring a normal amount of intelligence occur. But the task of restraining behavior-problem children possessing inferior intelligence is very difficult. Certainly one cannot hope to establish noble or far-reaching ideals in such a group of children; they should be under the constant supervision of society, and their behavior should not be allowed to influence in a detrimental manner the behavior of the great body of average or near-average children.

At the other extremity of intelligence are the gifted or near-gifted who are able to compete successfully in their school work with the average and still have leisure time for other activities. And it is this extra leisure that those dealing with the gifted should consider seriously. Because of the great energy of adolescents, one should and can expect that they will always be occupied with activities in harmony with their interests and general environmental conditions. The personal interest is present in the life of practically all adolescents and some activity of a personal nature must be pursued. Hence worthy activities in harmony with the interests and ideals of the child should be made available. Unfortunately, the recreational life of growing boys and girls is likely to be overlooked, and thus their activities may be out of harmony with the ideals sanctioned by society. Atypical adolescents do present real problems to the teacher and to those who direct adolescent groups in general. Patience, forethought, understanding, fair treatment, and differentiated treatment and control should ever be adhered to if the fullest results are to be obtained from the treatment of the individuals of the group.

As one analyzes further the elements involved in social control, one can see them according to both their own intrinsic value for the conscious social individual and their effect on others. Ordinarily, extrinsic social control is emphasized because of the effect of the behavior of the actor upon the group; but the intrinsic value of social control should also be considered. Only through consciously controlling one's actions

in the face of obstacles and difficulties will true will power develop. And the welfare of the individual can be secured only through the welfare of the group. Volitional control can be established for the group only when their *esprit* and sanction are in harmony with action. When the proper intrinsic value has been attained in the life of the individual, the extrinsic value will take care of itself. Conscious social control through participation has already been discussed with reference to club activity, team activity, and other phases of the adolescent's life. This conscious participation, with suggestions as indirect guidance, is the keynote in establishing social volitional control.

Some basic principles. Success in dealing with a potential adolescent delinquent requires, first, a knowledge of his characteristics; second, a consideration of the habits and experiences that have already been set up; and third, rational treatment in harmony with these principles. With these principles as a basic starting point, the following essentials should be kept more definitely in mind by those concerned with the development of adolescents:

1. Provide the youth with work or a variety of wholesome activities.
2. Develop in the adolescent a balance between work and play activities.
3. Constantly uphold worthy ideals, interests, and purposes, by both precept and example.
4. Give the youth a certain amount of controlled freedom along with his responsibility.
5. Develop self-confidence and fair play through successful activities and sympathetic, yet positive, treatment.
6. Deal with positive rather than negative attitudes. "Optimism is a good tonic."

THE PROBLEM OF RESTRAINT

Discipline and character. Closely related to the general problem of remedial treatment is discipline. Discipline in connection with anti-social behavior in school, in the home, and on the playgrounds is usually thought of as related to the milder forms of antisocial behavior. Thus, the breaking of some rule at school, the infringement upon the good will of some other member of the home or school, many acts of mischief, and other forms of behavior many of which are not necessarily antisocial behavior manifestations, are considered by someone in authority as undesirable and thus the subject concerned is disciplined by some means. The problem of discipline as it relates to the development of conduct in harmony with the mores of the group has been recognized in all emotional processes. Needless to say, the method

of punishment has varied considerably from period to period. Not quite a century ago a rather detailed plan of discipline was established in our secondary schools. The following is a partial list of punishments that were in effect in an academy in Stokes County, North Carolina, in 1848:⁶

1. Boys and girls playing together	4 lashes
2. Quarrelling	4 "
7. Playing at cards at school	10 "
9. Telling lies	7 "
14. Swearing at school	8 "
16. For misbehaving to girls	10 "
19. For drinking liquors at school	8 "
22. For wearing long finger nails	2 "
31. For blotting your copy book	2 "
33. For wrestling at school	4 "
35. For not making a bow when going out to go home ..	2 "
43. For not saying "Yes sir" or "No sir," etc.	2 "
45. For not washing at playtime when going to books ..	4 "
46. For going and playing about the mill or creek	6 "

Modern conceptions of child training lay stress on the fact that morality is not developed by rules, creeds, dogmas, or the establishment of specific amounts of punishment for various acts of mischief. If the disciplinary act strikes deep into the innermost life and feelings of the individual and leads him to recognize that the antisocial behavior act will not be tolerated, probably some good effects will result. But too often discipline is looked upon by the adolescent boy as a punishment for getting caught or as a means set forth by the teacher or parent for paying for some behavior act—a form of vengeance.

Bad habits are not usually formed overnight; neither are they likely to be broken in so short a period. Like other forms of behavior patterns, changes in conduct follow the general laws of learning and occur gradually. Parents often express amazement at the apparent onset of some maladaptive form of behavior on the part of the growing boy or girl, but usually this maladaptive form of behavior has not been so sudden as it appears. Here is, in most cases, an illustration of the failure of the parent to understand the other habits that have been established prior to the appearance of unadaptive habit. Discipline, if it is to be of value, must (1) be administered in terms of the past life of the child, (2) be based upon understanding rather than emotions,

⁶ C. L. Coon: *North Carolina Schools and Academies: A Documentary History*, p. 763. (State document, 1915.)

(3) be understood by the subject concerned, (4) relate to the behavior act from which it resulted rather than to the one administering the act, and (5) follow immediately after the act. Discipline is related to conduct in that, through purposive activity, habits of a desirable nature are established and maintained. Discipline is therefore directly related to self-control, and in this all discipline should have both its beginning and its ending.

Guidance in relation to other groups. If the companions and the play life of the individual are so important in the development of desirable or undesirable behavior traits, it is well to attempt to control, at least in part, these factors. Probably the greatest value to be attained from the adolescent's attendance at Sunday school is the fact that he is likely to be grouped with children who possess desirable behavior patterns. Yet a single child in a community can and often will interfere with the development of the proper habits in the other children; hence supervised play and the general supervision of the activities of adolescents should have as its main purpose the organization of a group into wholesome and desirable activities. Any member tending to interfere with the development of desirable habits in the group should be so supervised that his activities will not help to develop undesirable attitudes in the lives of the other members of the group.

Today we are studying more carefully the problem of juvenile delinquency, and it is fairly well recognized that if society is to do any constructive work for this group of young offenders, it must segregate them from those with more firmly established habits of an undesirable nature. The truant and the juvenile delinquent have not as a rule developed such habits as are firmly established and beyond modification. Still it must not be overlooked that the influence of members of the group upon each other is also likely to be detrimental. Probation, with reward for good conduct, should be offered in our dealings with adolescents who have established undesirable traits. We should "make sure of the nature of the urge back of an undesirable act and then . . . furnish the child with a more desirable outlet at the same time that the undesirable one is blocked."⁷ The delinquent child can be trained, for he is a plastic individual in whom undesirable habit patterns have been developed. Certain motivating forces are already operating in bringing about specifically desired ends; once we decide upon what

⁷ J. J. B. Morgan: *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924, p. 289.

ends ought to be desired, through substitutions desirable activities can well take the place of undesirable ones.

In the treatment of the juvenile offender two problems are encountered: (1) the welfare of the group and (2) the restraint of the offender. The first of these is primarily a social problem; and since our social structure is so definitely related, this should receive major interest and effort. But the habit system of the juvenile offender is plastic, and through proper guidance and training he may well be made an individual who will take his place in society as a desirable citizen. The restraining phase is to be considered as an individual rather than a social problem.

Satisfying activities. The value of the positive phase of conduct has already been emphasized, especially for the endeavor to establish desirable forms of behavior. Various types of rewards, either direct or indirect, are constantly being introduced in the effort to relate the element of satisfaction to the performance of the desired act. When undesirable behavior is allowed to bring about satisfaction or reward, this will naturally be the form of behavior established. Situations should be so set up that there is a natural reward for doing the desirable thing. This reward, as it concerns adolescents, may be of an abstract nature involving ideals and attitudes of a worthwhile and wholesome type. It has been found that beliefs are directly related to desires; thus one can well say that ideals are directly related to desires. Desires are established in part through a conditioning and directing of the natural impulses of the individual along lines in harmony with the ideals set forth by the group. Desires can and should be guided; but this guidance cannot best secure its end unless the desires are established in relation to situations for which there is an ultimate reward or form of satisfaction.

Adolescents should gradually learn through experience that anti-social conduct leads to their own misery and unpleasant experiences. As it is, satisfaction derived from the group's approval, flattering attention, and mastery of the group itself are often the outcome of anti-social conduct, and in consequence the individual too often develops antisocial habits. This is especially true for such acts of adolescent boys in gangs as cursing, destruction, defiance of authority, and various acts of mischief—many activities of the "good sport" would likely fall in this category. Satisfying activities should be related to those virtues that are set up by the group in harmony with the interests and welfare of society. And this is the aim of many educators of today.

Self-realization. The juvenile delinquent should not be led to believe that he is suffering from a condition beyond cure. He should realize that he is indeed very similar to those who are not classed as delinquents. What he should know is his point of weakness. The concept of self-analysis brought out in an earlier chapter should here again be introduced and practical results obtained from its administration. The child should be led to realize that happiness, reward, and ultimate success are to be gained through desirable traits. He should come to realize that those dealing with him are neither spies nor policemen but individuals interested in the welfare of the group.

Again, the responsibility for the reward and satisfaction to be gained from group participation should be placed in the hands of the individual concerned. Those in charge should lead him to realize that he is somewhat on probation, and that he is expected to try to do the right thing in order that he may be happier and the group be generally better off. The important thing is to realize the point of weakness, to recognize that habits are built up through practice, and to be motivated toward the strengthening of good habits.

The adolescent is likely to resent authoritative control. The self-conscious attitude so clearly displayed at this stage of life tends to mark him as an individual on the alert, watching for someone to consider him as a child and thus boss him around. He is idealistic in nature and expects the teacher to play fair with him in his activities; he may question many of the procedures of the teacher for this reason. His personal manner of regarding everything as directed toward the self is a factor that should be watched. The adolescent is impulsive, oversensitive, and impressionable to mistreatment or unfair dealings. He will readily respond to group treatment and approval because of his developed social consciousness.

Need of follow-up work. In the Oaks School, juvenile delinquents of borderline intelligence are trained, supervised, and studied. The aim is to develop in the boys a sense of responsibility to one another and a desire to become socially acceptable, as well as to develop their abilities in order that they may be more nearly self-supporting. The Gluecks made a follow-up study, after an interval of from 10 to 15 years following the expiration of their sentences, of as many of 500 original juvenile delinquents as could be located (439 of the 500 were available for study).⁸ The environmental circumstances, family rela-

⁸ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck: *Criminal Careers in Retrospect*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1943.

tions, work history, use of leisure time, and antisocial (criminal) conduct were among the factors studied in this investigation. A meticulous comparison of the traits of those who survived the period without being brought before the courts again was made with the traits of those who did not. It was noted that 44 per cent of the group studied had had institutional experience during this period, and that over half had been arrested for various offenses. The study revealed a lack of adjustment on the part of those who appeared before the courts during this interim; about two-thirds were found to possess "abnormal mental conditions."

One might well conclude from these results that the adoption of a philosophy of punishment based upon the severity of the crime committed fails to transform the juvenile delinquent into a well-adjusted personality. There is a need for law enforcement officers who will give more consideration to the offender than to the offense. Indeed, there is a pronounced trend among juvenile-court judges to consider the individual subject, and to fit the punishment to the individual, with the ultimate goal of rehabilitating the delinquent as well as of protecting the welfare of the group.

The change in attitudes toward juvenile crime is having its effect upon the treatment of juvenile offenders. Social welfare workers have found a close relationship between home and neighborhood conditions and juvenile conduct. The beginning point for most corrective treatment should be the home, and some juvenile-court judges, recognizing this fact, have placed the responsibility on the parents in various ways. The ignorance, indifference, carelessness, and distorted sense of values of parents account for a large share of juvenile crime. This circumstance presents a challenge to society to conduct an adult educational program dealing with child training. The schools must accept part of the responsibility—since these parents were in school just a decade or more ago, and the school program provided very little training in parenthood.

Again, educational adjustments are essential, if the adolescent boy or girl delinquent is to remain in school and out of mischief. This fact is revealed by the data presented in Table XXVIII.⁹ Physical well-being and adjustment to the community are other conditions related to the prevention and treatment of juvenile crime. These things must be taken into account in the training program for delinquents. The value of the training program will depend in a very large measure

⁹ Fenton Norman: "Treatment Procedures Suggested by Bureau Workers," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, 1937, 21.

TABLE XXVIII
SUGGESTED TREATMENT PROCEDURES FOR JUVENILE
DELINQUENTS

	Index Total
1. Adjustment of home situation	3.38
a. Social or educational work in home	1.48
b. Advice regarding methods of training	1.32
c. Consideration of placement . . . . .	.40
d. Suggestions regarding sibling relationships . . . . .	.17
e. Interests . . . . .	.01
2. Educational adjustment	2.64
a. Modification of curriculum and instruction	1.37
b. Classroom management . . . . .	.67
c. Placement and progress . . . . .	.39
d. Special individual guidance . . . . .	.21
3. Concerning physical well-being	1.46
a. Specific treatments . . . . .	.71
b. Supplementary examinations . . . . .	.53
c. Operative therapy . . . . .	.22
4. Social adjustment in home, school, and community	1.02
a. Opportunities for adequate social relationships . . . . .	.52
b. Development of recreational and other special interests . . . . .	.27
c. Opportunity for employment . . . . .	.12
d. Special summer program . . . . .	.09
e. Enlistment of community aid . . . . .	.02
5. Miscellaneous . . . . .	.21

upon the follow-up work. If boys and girls are sent back into the community with a stigma attached to them and if the people of the community look upon them with disfavor, fear, or even curiosity, they will surely not be given the aid and encouragement they will need in order to follow a desirable course of behavior. Again, if they are sent back into a home where the same unfavorable attitudes prevail that were such prominent factors in affecting the development of delinquent trends, one might expect an early return of such trends. It may be stated that those conditions sufficiently undesirable to produce behavior patterns will in most cases be of sufficient quality and quantity to effect the reappearance of such a pattern.

Whatever method society might endeavor to formulate in dealing with the delinquent adolescent should furthermore embody the following general concepts:

1. Reward for the desirable act and a form of disapproval and probably punishment for the undesirable act.

2. A self-realization on the part of the individual of his possibilities for good behavior.
3. A segregation of those with undesirable traits in order to eliminate their influence upon the individual with desirable traits.
4. A separate method of control for the feeble-minded.
5. Worthwhile and probably gainful activities in harmony with certain needs and interests of the subjects concerned.
6. Punishment should not be administered in a spirit of anger or vengeance.
7. Confidence and fairness of those dealing with the subjects as to the outcome of efforts directed in the right manner along the correct path.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPLES

It may be stated that delinquency and maladjustments are factors resulting from a multiplicity of elements in the hereditary make-up and life history of each individual. It was stated in connection with "The Hygiene of Adolescence" that each case represents a distinct problem. This same statement should be made with reference to delinquents. It was pointed out in the preceding chapter that among the causes of delinquents are: low mentality, poverty, undesirable home conditions, bad parental attitudes, lack of facilities for wholesome recreational activities, bad companions, and emotional instability. We might list more specifically the strain placed upon adolescents by trying to make adequate adjustments to the existing social order. Any program of prevention and control must take these factors into consideration if it is going to be effective.

As the world of the adolescent expands and new drives appear, he is faced with many problems for meeting which he has not yet established adequate means. He will therefore need to seek aid and advice from those with a greater breadth of knowledge and experience, and it is in this capacity that the counselor should be able to work most effectively. In doing this he should keep in mind the following points: (1) He should recognize the adolescent as an individual and give serious consideration to the fact that the problem is one that belongs to him and may be very important in his life, even though it is of negligible importance to the adult counselor. (2) In beginning a conference with the adolescent, it is well to state some of his positive virtues first, and if possible make use of these in aiding him to establish confidence in himself and his possibilities for good behavior. (3) A specific plan of attack is most desirable. Just as the doctor makes his attack directly upon the disease or organ affected, so the counselor

in many cases should attack the disorder itself. It is not enough to say to the boy or girl, "You should speak out in class"; on the contrary, the pupil must be given an opportunity to do this and should come to recognize that it is expected of him. (4) There should be frequent rechecking by the adviser. The adolescent needs a continued renewal of encouragement and guidance. (5) The degree to which co-operation can be secured and the extent to which responsibility can be placed upon the adolescent depends in part upon his physical, mental, and emotional maturity. Methods, therefore, should vary according to the maturity of the individual concerned.

The adolescent must be taught to have respect for himself and his abilities. He must come to realize that he has a definite contribution to make to society. If there are physical defects, he must learn to overcome these—not to overcompensate or use some defense mechanism in an effort to cover them up. The mental-hygiene principles set forth in the previous chapter should be followed if he is to develop the ability to function harmoniously in his social relations. Guidance and control should have as their function the bringing out of those qualities and assets of the individual that will be of greatest service to the self and society.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Just how is the control of the adolescent's behavior activities related to mental hygiene? To moral and religious growth? Illustrate.
2. Why is the co-operation of all agencies essential, if juvenile crime is to be more closely controlled? What are some of the agencies that would be involved?
3. Give an illustration, from your own observation, of how juvenile mischief has been directed into more wholesome channels through the development of recreational activities for adolescents.
4. Evaluate the basic principles set forth on page 272. What other principles would you list?
5. Show how self-realization is important in the development of a well-adjusted individual. What are some needs of the adolescent, if he is to develop a wholesome attitude toward himself and others?
6. Study the treatment procedures suggested for juvenile delinquents that are presented in Table XXVIII. Which of these are being neglected in the general procedures of today? How would you account for this?
7. Consider the treatment procedures used in connection with some individual of your acquaintance. Point out the *desirable* and the *undesirable* features of those procedures.

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XVII

Educational Needs of the Adolescent

WHAT GOES INTO THE TRAINING OF YOUTH EMERGES IN THE LIFE OF THE NATION.
(*Message of President S. C. Garrison to the graduating class at George Peabody College for Teachers, August 22, 1939.*)

Education and individual development. The cardinal principles of education state that in the school we are striving to inculcate in the child sound health habits, to give him command of fundamental processes, to prepare him for worthy home membership, to educate him to be a good citizen, to help him to choose and prepare himself for a vocation, to teach him to use his leisure time wisely, and to build in him ethical character. This is indeed a large order and one which the school cannot and does not hope to do alone. However, with the increasing changes in home life a larger share of the burden has been thrown on the schools, and it is a share which they must accept. We know that a large per cent of our adolescent population is now registered in our schools. If the schools are to be able to do their part in fulfilling the objectives set forth, those entrusted with educational responsibilities must have a thorough understanding of the nature and characteristics of children and adolescents. The curriculum of the school should be based upon the nature and needs of growing boys and girls. It should evolve around (a) their personal development; (b) their personal-social development; (c) their development toward social-civic efficiency; and (d) their growth in civic-vocational efficiency.

The understanding of the human material with which he must work and the development of adequate materials and effective techniques for shaping it are essential to the educator in the performance of his task. However, before he can do an effective job in developing these human resources, he must have a clear-cut picture of the goal toward which he is working. It is in this respect that the problem of providing a training program for tomorrow is more difficult than at any previous time in our history. Although that history is filled with events which betray fast-moving changes, the revolution that is now underway in

our ways of living is more vast and far-reaching than any that took place before. It should be unnecessary to say in this connection that such changes are rendering the simple conditioning techniques of the past inadequate. And, although it is true that no culture remains completely static, there are vast differences in the rate of change. A realistic educator will not attempt to oversimplify the problems that have arisen as a result of technological developments. Neither will he be able to offer a complete solution to the problems that are appearing on the horizon. He will, however, recognize that there are many situations today for which no ready-made answers are available. The cultural patterns that are transmitted from one generation to another will not be sufficient for the solutions of the problems that will arise during the next decade. It becomes the task of the educator to study these problems intelligently and to be better prepared to meet them as they arise. He should strive further to train boys and girls to recognize the interrelations present in various world-wide problems and attempt to meet them with intelligence and insight. Whether or not intelligence can be developed is still a controversial question, but the possibility of training individuals to use their innate intelligence in the solution of problems is well known.

There is a growing recognition of individual differences in abilities, interests, and needs, and this recognition is affecting the activities of the schools to the extent that educational programs are being organized to suit the needs and conditions confronting the pupils; this, rather than compelling the students to conform to some rigid system designed and controlled by standards. Pupils with mediocre ability in studying literature in school should not be deprived of the opportunity to develop a richer life of appreciation because of some standard of conformity imposed upon them in the name of high standards. High standards of scholarship are desirable, but they should not be used to deprive students of opportunities for desirable educational growth in harmony with their individual abilities and needs. One of the major educational problems that has arisen as a result of developments in genetic psychology and measurements is that of providing materials of varying degrees of difficulty, and letting the pupil develop unhampered by standards impossible of his attainment.

Why pupils leave high school. The great increase in high school enrollment was pointed out in Part I. This wide distribution is in contrast to the early history of education in this country, when only a selected few were fortunate enough to secure more than an abbrevi-

ated elementary education. As late as 1880, after public high schools had been established very widely, only about 3 per cent of the youth of high school age, or about 110,000 persons, continued their education beyond the elementary school period.¹ A study of pupils' reasons for dropping out of high school was conducted in Holyoke, an industrial city in western Massachusetts, by Amy Hewes.² The results obtained in this study are not unlike those obtained from earlier as well as later studies. The fact that Holyoke is, to a marked degree, an industrial town would probably result in a greater number of children dropping out of school than would do so in a commercial or more cosmopolitan community. Most of the results from this study, however, are so nearly typical of those from other similar communities, and are in such close harmony with findings from various other studies, with the exceptions of the points already referred to, that they are given here in a fairly complete form:

In the first place, about a quarter of the pupils who enter the high school never complete its course of study, and withdrawals in large numbers occur both in seasons of prosperity and in seasons of depression. So many pupils are lost from the early years of the course that the majority of those who withdraw may be said to have had few of the benefits of secondary education. In the second place, it is clear that the largest number of those who leave, both in good times and in bad, do so because their families cannot afford to keep them in school after they are able to go to work. The second largest group drops out because the pupils have lost interest in school work. This group deserves further study, for the problem of its members is clearly educational and their need presents a challenge to the methods and the aims of the high-school program, in depression years as well as in eras of prosperity. These pupils probably constitute a more varied group than those who remain, and their interest may require a more flexible curriculum. In the third place, it appears that the high-school pupils who leave school for work do not find a permanently satisfactory occupational adjustment in their first jobs. They drift from one shop and industry to another, either because they were ill-advised or ill-prepared in school or because the economic situation prevents them from obtaining an occupational foothold.³

During the year 1940 the Committee on Implementation of Studies in Secondary Education, of the American Council on Education, con-

¹ Grayson N. Kefauver, Victor H. Noll, and Drake C. Elwood: *The Secondary-School Population*, National Survey of Secondary Education Monograph No. 4. United States Office of Education Bulletin No. 17, 1932.

² Amy Hewes: "Why Pupils Leave High School," *School Review*, 1935, 43, pp. 287-294.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 293-294.

ducted a survey of public opinion concerning youth and education.⁴ One question asked was: "Do you think there are quite a few boys and girls now in high school who would be better off at work?" Fifty-four per cent of the replies to this question were in the affirmative; thirty-nine per cent were in the negative; and seven per cent reflected an inability to give a definite answer. The reasons most often given by those who favored work for some students were, in order of frequency: (1) Education of no benefit to some. (2) Not enough vocational training provided—some children would be better off learning a trade. (3) Some families need the additional income their children might earn. Reasons given by those opposing the gainful employment of high school pupils were, in order of frequency: (1) Importance of education. (2) Too many young people out of work now—they would be better off in school. (3) They are not old enough to work.

Educational choices of adolescents. In a study conducted by Donald C. Doane,⁵ a group of high school boys and girls was confronted with an inventory of nineteen courses of action embodying the needs and problems of youth as found from previous studies, from which certain selections were to be made. These boys and girls were instructed to select the five areas (described as *courses* that might be pursued in school) that they would want most and the five that they would want least. The *course* "Vocational Choice and Placement" was selected by a larger percentage of both boys and girls than any other course. Furthermore, there was little difference between the choices of those found to be in the high IQ group and the choices of those in the low IQ group. (See Table XXIX.)

From an analysis of the replies of over 2,100 high school students (about equally divided between sophomores and seniors) from 10 high schools of western Pennsylvania to a questionnaire submitted relative to their participation in varied aspects of the social and recreational program of their school, some interesting conclusions may be drawn and some constructive generalizations made.⁶ The results of this study again bring out the need for the school to plan definite programs

⁴ "What People Think About Youth and Education," *National Education Research Association Bulletin*, 1940, 18, No. 5, p. 205.

⁵ Donald C. Doane: "The Needs of Youth: An Evaluation for Curriculum Purposes," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education*, No. 848, 1942.

⁶ Dan R. Kovar: "Student Attitudes Toward the Program of Social Recreation in Certain High Schools of Western Pennsylvania," *Doctor's Thesis*, University of Pittsburgh, 1939.

TABLE XXIX

COMPARISON OF THE CHOICES OF COURSES OF HIGH
AND LOW IQ GROUPS (*After Doane*)

COURSE	HIGH IQ (N 164)	Low IQ (N 164)
Vocational Choice and Placement	65%	68%
Getting Along with People	52	48
Health	37	49
Sex	22	30
Relationships with Opposite Sex	29	30
Finances	22	25
Plans for Marriage and Family	25	24
Philosophy of Life: Mental Hygiene	18	20
Relationships with Family	16	19
Leisure Time and Recreation	10	19
Morals	16	13
Religion	11	5
History	27	23
Government	29	27
Current Problems	10	18
Music, Art, Dramatics	42	30
Sciences	25	24
Languages	26	16
Literature	13	9

to satisfy the recreational and social needs of adolescents. Such a need is certainly to be found more often in the larger high schools than in the smaller ones. Those students questioned suggested, in addition, a need for get-acquainted parties during the early part of the year, in order that students from the different elementary schools who now made up the high school group might come to know one another better. It is pointed out that informal dances should have a part in the social program, but that these should not make up the whole program. There seems to be a need for activities that will include all the pupils. In addition to these needs for social and recreational activities, there is felt to be a need for the teachers to offer help through clubs, the home-room, or regular classes in social usage. Along with all this, there should be a democratic spirit existing within the school, and the faculty should display an interest in and appreciation of the problems and aspirations of the adolescent boys and girls.

In the organization of the well-adjusted personality, there must be a consideration of all the factors that go to make up personality. Each individual represents a relational pattern of traits. These traits are more

or less peculiar to the particular individual concerned, and their organization into a pattern that will produce a well-integrated personality should be the major goal of education. Club activities, home-room projects, socialized classroom procedures, and other methods and conditions characteristic of the modern school are designed to aid in the development of the individual pupil as a whole. We have come to realize that human health, happiness, and success depend upon more than intellectual development. A student may be able to solve intricate problems in physics and chemistry, or be able to write an essay rated as very superior, and still be so badly adjusted emotionally that he is incapable of solving the simplest problem of his own everyday living. The home and the school, as well as other educational and social agencies, must come to recognize the problems of social, educational, vocational, and health adjustments in relation to each other and to a well-adjusted personality. In the study of Doane, "Help in development of social abilities—making friends, popularity, manners and etiquette, etc.—was indicated as desired by about one half to three fourths of the girls, depending upon the particular topics, and by about one fourth to one half of the boys. *How to make friends* was checked by 74 per cent of the girls and 55 per cent of the boys, and *manners and etiquette*, etc., by 65 per cent of the girls and 43 per cent of the boys."⁷

Education and technology. Since the school is often so completely separated from the world of work, the adolescent may emerge with a store of abstract knowledge, but with very little notion about life itself. It is also likely that those who immersed themselves most completely in their studies are the ones most unfit for the ordinary day-to-day activities. Furthermore, there is such a long time lag between the learning of certain facts and their application that the student must be motivated by various extrinsic and artificial incentives. The cry of unreality is raised against the school system by many who would integrate the school more closely with life. Many reforms have been proposed as the real solution to the problem. The real trouble seems to have developed as a by-product of technology. Technology has brought about an economic condition wherein the labor of children is no longer needed for the production and distribution of goods.

The general outline of a needed educational program, which will provide for the youths 14 to 20 years of age who are unable to secure full time employment, may be generally given as follows: first, oppor-

⁷ Donald C. Doane: *op. cit.*, p. 116.

tunities for these boys and girls to secure information about vocational possibilities within their community, and the demands and requirements of such vocations; secondly, guidance in determining their own capacities and personality characteristics, in order that they may be able to find their place in the world of work; thirdly, more extensive opportunities for vocational education than those usually provided in the smaller high schools; fourthly, extension of educational opportunities through the provision of publicly supported junior colleges and technical institutions established on a regional basis; and finally, financial aid to needy and worthy students by means of work activities, scholarships, and the like.

Need for a school health program. It was pointed out in Chapter XV that adolescence is a period during which permanent attitudes and habits related to health are being established. An educational program should have as its first concern the development of the individual, a process sometimes referred to as personal development, and one which demands that the schools provide a functional health program. There is evidence on hand from many sources that very often health education either has been neglected in our schools, or has not been organized and presented in a way to become effective in the lives of the pupils. The health program should include more than a periodic examination, a course in hygiene, and some formal physical-education activities or an athletic program which touches the lives of only a small percentage of high school pupils. Rather, it should function throughout all the school activities, and should have as its objectives the development of healthy individuals, desirable health attitudes and habits, and a recognition on the part of the pupils of the nature and importance of sanitation and community health problems. The general aims and responsibilities of the school health program may be summarized as follows:

1. To provide a healthy environment for pupils and teachers. This involves elements related to the school program and the emotional tone of the school as well as to good sanitary conditions.
2. To have a planned program and facilities for taking care of accident victims at school and for cases of sudden illness.
3. To teach pupils facts relative to the causes of diseases, the ways diseases are spread, and the known methods of preventing diseases.
4. To develop habits and attitudes conducive to the maintenance of good health, both from the point of view of the individual and the community.
5. To provide periodic health examinations of pupils and teachers, and to keep a cumulative record of the findings and recommendations.
6. To give special attention to those in need of medical or dental care.

Where the pupils are not financially able to provide for their needs, the community should use its resources for this purpose.

7. To provide special educational programs adapted to the needs of the handicapped.

8. To co-operate with the community in community health programs and in the control of contagious diseases.

9. To provide for in-service growth of the teachers to the end that all teachers may realize that the development of a healthy individual is one of the fundamental aims of the school, and that every teacher is to some extent responsible for the health program. However, the specific responsibility for certain courses and for the co-ordination of all school health activities and for relating these to community health programs should be that of some special teacher.⁸

The importance of citizenship training. The complexity of our social order, the growing interconnections of our various social and economic units, and the increase in governmental activities have tended to increase the necessity for citizenship training. Any educational movement that is to function in developing worthwhile civic attitudes and habits should begin in an elementary way in the earlier years of life. These are formative years for the development of attitudes and character, and therefore are important in relation to future developments.

Respect for authority, a feeling of part-ownership of public property, and a pride in civic cleanliness and beauty should be a part of this early training. In the upper elementary grades and in junior high school, the pupils should be given a more specific and detailed account of civic problems. Courses designed for this purpose should not be purely theoretical or drawn from a textbook which takes a model community for its standard. These courses should partake of a laboratory nature, and the community studies should be made at first hand by the maturing boys and girls.

A reasonable amount of the training which leads to definite conformity with customs is desirable. This is especially true where others are involved, and a fixed time- or place-schedule is necessary. However, there is a strong tendency for society to fix definite ways of doing things, and to enforce habit formation by interference and taboos, instead of allowing the child to learn by doing the task unhindered. Only when the pupil is allowed to choose his own plans of work and his own tasks, under sympathetic guidance, can he understand the true

⁸ For a good presentation of the need for a functional approach to this problem, see Archer Willis Hurd: "Post War Health Education," *Education*, 1945, 65, pp. 445-448.

social significance of his actions. It is in this connection that certain aspects of student government, home-room organizations, and the like should become most effective in civic development for democratic living.

Probably one reason why we have made no greater progress in social development lies in the fact that, in most situations in life, the child is responsible to some autocrat—the teacher, gang leader, or parent—instead of to a high notion of social responsibility. If social education is to mean anything, inner controls must be substituted for such outer ones. Herein lies the opportunity of the school in social education. Only by allowing the child freedom in the selection and performance of tasks is it possible to transfer authority from other persons to personal standards and ideals. In teaching the more formal subjects of the curriculum, teachers rarely provide opportunities for the development of personal standards. The subjects are so well organized and the school is so definitely standardized that any tendency toward originality is frowned upon. Fortunately, extracurricular activities are becoming increasingly important and are obtaining more than a minimum of teacher guidance. When aims, methods, and materials are organized with citizenship as a goal, better results will be obtained.⁹

Social versus individual development. The modern trend in education has been towards socialization. It has been recognized that individuals must be more socially conscious and develop a higher degree of social intelligence than was necessary when each family lived almost entirely unto itself and each community almost wholly within its own limits. We have passed beyond the period of social isolation, which has been characterized as one of “rugged individualism,” into a state of social organization and reorganization. There is today less emphasis placed upon tribal pride and more given to civic duty and responsibility. *Organization, co-operation*, and the like are terms that express our national outlook, and that are rapidly affecting the materials and procedures that make up our school program. However, this increased emphasis upon the socialization process may overleap its proper bounds. The school must not assume that the individual is entirely a social product. In earlier chapters it was pointed out that individual differences in mental and physical development are very great. Likewise, individual differences in the possibilities for the development of social behavior are exceedingly great. The school must not, in its efforts to

⁹ See the procedure given by Martha P. McMillan: “A Project in School Citizenship for the Eighth Grade,” *The Instructor*, November 1940, p. 28.

develop socialized behavior that will prepare the pupil for the social world of today and tomorrow, attempt to produce standardized social products from one stereotype. It is not desirable to stamp out individuality and substitute for it some common form of sociability.

Guidance in relation to the educational process. The objectives of adolescent guidance must find their counterparts in the objectives set forth for the education of growing boys and girls. These objectives might be thought of as large divisions of life activities, each related to the other. Concerning guidance as it relates to these life activities, Kefauver and Hand say:

Guidance, then, will have contributions to make to education for social, health, recreational, and vocational activities. One might appropriately refer to guidance in relation to each of these objectives as social, health, recreational, and vocational guidance. A combination of these four objectives constitutes the objectives of the total educational program. Similarly, a combination of the four types of guidance would give us the total guidance program of the school. This total concept might be characterized as educational guidance—that which serves all parts of the educational program.¹⁰

The problem of individual variations in our schools has become more acute as a result of (1) the increased enrollment, (2) the lengthening of the period spent in schools, and (3) the enlarged program of the schools. A democratic system of education should provide opportunities for each child to develop his abilities and potentialities. The dull child, the neuropathic child, the defective child, and the gifted child alike should receive consideration in our school program. Complete recognition of individual differences means a recognition of these deviations in intelligence, in aptitudes, in temperament, as well as in goals and purposes in individual cases. Freeman¹¹ points out concerning this:

In short, guidance in education is fundamentally a matter of understanding and utilizing our knowledge of human variability in mentality, in traits of personality and temperament; in understanding the causes of failure in school, as well as of success; in appreciating the fact that the human organism is not merely a mosaic of a variety of intellectual, temperamental, and physical traits, but is rather an integrated unit, the effectiveness of whose intellect may be increased or vitiated by other aspects of his individuality.

¹⁰ G. N. Kefauver and H. C. Hand: "Objectives of Guidance in Secondary Schools," *Teachers College Record*, 1933, 34, p. 381.

¹¹ F. N. Freeman: "Contribution to Education of Scientific Knowledge About Individual Differences," *Thirty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1938, pp. 418-419.

Counseling the individual pupil. Counseling is as old as formal education, if not older. It has recently been described as "a personal and dynamic relationship between two people who approach a mutually defined problem with mutual consideration for each other to the end that the younger, or less mature, or more troubled, of the two is aided to a self-determined resolution of the problem, . . ." ¹² Counseling is primarily an individual matter and is more apt to be successful when conducted on that basis. In connection with the school environment it implies greater maturity and understanding on the part of the teacher or adult. In a study of 1,500 fifteen-year-old boys in Detroit, ¹³ 82 per cent wanted adult companionship and counsel. Those who had least companionship and poor family adjustment were most eager for this adult counseling. Counseling is not synonymous with interviewing since the latter is a technique for some specific purpose. Referring to Wrenn, we find the following diagrams with explanations:

A too common type of interview is information and advice given, thus:

Counselor —————→ Student

A less common and sometimes quite justifiable interview is the information-getting situation, thus:

Counselor ←———— Student

The interview as it should be used in counseling must be represented:

Counselor ←————→ Student

It was pointed out in Chapter II that educational and vocational problems loom large in the lives of adolescents. The materials of Table XXX show that these are the types of problems encountered by counselors, whereas visiting teachers more often deal with problems involving social and personal factors. Too often social and personal problems are not given the attention and consideration they deserve. It is only when these reach the teacher or administrator that they are recognized. There, they have usually been treated as behavior activities, without much consideration of the drives back of such activities.

The need for "belongingness" or being accepted is very important during the adolescent years. Teachers must be aware of this need, and must recognize the problems of adolescence as real, even though they

¹² C. G. Wrenn: "Counseling with Students," *Thirty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1938, p. 121.

¹³ K. Layton Warren: "Guidance Needs of Detroit's 15-Year Old Pupils," *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, 1936, 15, pp. 215-220.

TABLE XXX

PERCENTAGES OF TYPES OF PROBLEMS HANDLED BY
COUNSELORS AND VISITING TEACHERS¹⁴

TYPE OF PROBLEM	PERCENTAGES	
	Counselors	Teachers
Educational and Vocational Guidance		
Educational and vocational plans	42.2	2.6
Poor scholarship	23.1	7.9
Vocational information	7.8	0.0
Program adjustment	3.5	0.0
Placement	2.7	0.2
Work permits	0.3	0.2
Total	79.6	10.9
Social and Personality Problems:		
Behavior	5.6	27.3
Home conditions	.8	20.4
Attendance	1.4	16.8
Truancy	0.3	3.5
Relief	2.4	8.3
Health	1.3	8.6
Home placement	0.2	0.6
Total	12.0	85.5
Other Problems:	8.4	3.6

may appear trivial to the adult. This ability to understand the nature of the problems of others is a prerequisite for counseling. When the problems of others are considerably removed from one's own life, the ability to understand such problems becomes more difficult of attainment. Adolescents' problems are not synonymous with the problems of a teacher on the job. This in itself presents a challenge to the teacher, if his work in the guidance and direction of adolescents is to be effective:

Each boy and girl in the classroom wants to be accepted as a unique individual. He wants to be accepted *as a person* and not for what he can accomplish. Students like to think of a teacher as someone whom they can trust. To violate a confidence will freeze the channels of human relationships immediately. What might seem insignificant and unimportant to the teacher may be of vital importance to the child.¹⁵

¹⁴ "Activities of Counselors and Visiting Teachers in Minneapolis," *School Review*, 1931, Vol. 39, p. 488.

¹⁵ Edwin C. Morgenthau: "Relationships between Teachers and Students in Secondary Schools," *Progressive Education*, April, 1939, pp. 248-249.

Importance of records. A basic principle of guidance is that we must secure definite information about the individual before effective plans can be formulated to meet his needs. The kinds of information that should be secured in order that the counselor or teacher may understand the student and the student understand himself have been listed as follows:¹⁶

1. The record of his previous school experiences.
2. His aptitudes and abilities.
3. His home background and community environment.
4. His goals and purposes.
5. His likes and dislikes.
6. His social development and adjustment.
7. His emotional status.
8. His health record and present health status.
9. His economic and financial status.

Previous school experience is not by any means an absolute, safe basis for the prediction of future development. However, the pupil's response to certain types of courses, areas of high and low achievement, and his participation in extracurricular activities all show definite trends which are a source of help to the counselor. Records should be kept on mental and educational growth from time to time. Educational achievement tests furnish records of growth in the school subjects. Personality rating scales provide the teacher with a means for making reports on attitudes and personality development.¹⁷

Techniques for use in securing information on aptitudes and abilities are manifold. Such tests, however, may be dangerous in the hands of an untrained person. Some occupations require only a special type of intelligence while others demand only skills of some particular type. Facts about past activities, interests, health, and educational growth should serve as valuable information on a cumulative record. Through interviews, questionnaires, tests, rating devices, and observations, information is obtained. When it is organized so as to be understood and usable, such information should serve as a basis for more accurate guidance and counseling of adolescent boys and girls.

The chief advantage of the cumulative record is the possibility of combining the separate items it contains into an integrated picture of

¹⁶ See Eurich, A. C., and Wrenn, C. G.: "Appraisal of Student Characteristics and Needs," *Thirty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., 1938.

¹⁷ See the form of scales in Paul W. Chapman's *Guidance Programs for Rural High Schools*, U. S. Office of Education, August, 1939. Misc. 2196.

the whole individual. The meaning of various patterns of interest records, as well as of patterns of abilities and activities, and ways of combining these most effectively is a matter demanding further study. Concerning the importance of having such information available, in order to assist the students in their educational problems, Ruth Strang has stated:

Assistance to students must be thorough but not superfluous. One cannot have too much information about a student, but one can give him too much advice. His present level of maturity must be ascertained; his values, goals, aims and purposes recognized and respected. Counseling, in part, is instruction in self-direction. It is a process, not a conclusion.¹⁸

Generalized summary. The lack of opportunities for employment in business and industry keep in school many young people who otherwise would go to work. Some of the increased school enrollment during the past two decades can be attributed to financial aid and encouragement, through grants of money from the government for students. However, the most important influence of all is the determination of most parents to give their children all the educational advantages within their means. There is an almost universal educational consciousness, and a general recognition that an elementary education is not sufficient (see Figures 2 and 3). The great increase in high school enrollment, like the widespread possession of radios and the increased use of electrical appliances, is a part of the total increase in the complexity of our civilization and the development of better standards of living.

In the next place, new curriculum materials are in the process of making. The curriculum of the past decade represented units designed for a select group of boys and girls, and such curricula were not planned for the needs of our present school population. Manual activities were looked upon with distaste; most of the work in the fine arts was thought of as suitable only for a few; education for social understanding was almost unheard of; and the materials that acquaint us with our present socialized civilization were considered as inferior in quality and value. Psychology, through its contributions to methods of learning, retention of subject matter, transfer of training, and the increasing understanding of individual differences, has led to a reformation of subject matter designed for a useful purpose and a life of action. The

¹⁸ Ruth Strang: *Counseling Technics in College and Secondary School*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937, p. 130.

needs and philosophy of our present social order are demanding a vitalized curriculum with greater social understanding and enlightened citizens as the goal.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. What items are common to the aims of education listed by different students of education? What trends may be noted?
2. What educational aims have probably been most neglected in our high school program? How would you account for this?
3. Show how the *insight* of the teacher is of utmost importance in desirable pupil-teacher relationship. (Review materials of Chapter XI in this connection.) How is this related to educational counseling?
4. Elaborate on the meaning and significance of the following statement: "In the future, schools will be more closely integrated with the life of the community than they were in the past."
5. It has been stated that, "Education comes out of all kinds of experiences and affects all phases of one's life." What effect should the acceptance of such a viewpoint have on the work of the schools?
6. How is counseling related to educational needs? Study the types of problems encountered by counselors. (See Table XXX.) What would you conclude concerning the nature of these problems?

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XVIII

Vocational Choice and Adjustment

HE THAT HATH A TRADE HATH AN ESTATE; AND HE THAT
HATH A CALLING HATH AN OFFICE OF PROFIT AND HONOR.

Benjamin Franklin

Every sign points to an increased use of scientific procedure in the ordinary life-activities of man. The World War of the recent past seems destined to strengthen this trend. The machine is itself one of the consequential products of the scientific age. Concerning it, Faïres says: "The effects of the machine on society have been aggravated by two factors: (1) a more comprehensive use of mechanical and electrical power, and (2) a more general utilization of the principle of so-called 'scientific' management. We all know how these particular factors have resulted in a vast increase in the output of factories per man-hour of labor."¹ This increase has brought with it changed modes of living, changed occupational conditions, more widespread leisure, increased luxuries, and a change in our social-economic structure that is now our undoing. All these have had an important influence upon family relations, work opportunities, and the economic needs and conditions of adolescents and youths.

Youth and employment. If we turn the pages of history back just a few years, we will note that there was present, a short time ago, widespread unemployment. And, according to the census of 1940, thirty-five per cent of the unemployed were under twenty-five years of age, whereas only twenty-two per cent of the employable population were reported as being under twenty-five. A Youth Study conducted in Maryland several years ago revealed that economic insecurity was a widespread problem. Of the employable youth studied who had been out of school a year, more than forty per cent had not obtained any sort of full-time employment, and the average delay before employment for

¹ V. M. Faïres: "The Role of the Engineer of Tomorrow," *The Journal of Engineering Education*, 1938, 28, p. 365.

those dropping out of school before they were sixteen years of age was three and one-half years. The major cause of such a condition lies in our social and economic structure, rather than in faulty educational programs. However, this does not mean that our educational programs are adequate. A more genuine equality of educational opportunity would do much to alleviate problems of unemployment; a more realistic educational program would go a long way toward keeping youth in school until they have reached maturity.

Seemingly, people recognize that widespread unemployment among adults is a clear indication that something is wrong with the economic order of the time. However, in the case of widespread unemployment among youths, the blame is placed on the latter, or on those concerned with their education. There are some who point out the lack of vocational education, and others who say that too many people have been directed from the farms into commercial and industrial pursuits. There are some who go so far as to lay the blame on too much education, with its accompanying costs, and others who prescribe more education as the cure for the trouble. Although it cannot be denied that much can be done in a constructive manner for the education of youth, yet economic insecurity, uncertainty, and unemployment on a wholesale basis will remain until the source of the difficulty is cleared up.

The conditions that have brought about changes in the economic life and security of youth may be outlined as follows: The great resources of free land which the United States once possessed no longer exist. People have continued to migrate into cities until now almost sixty per cent of the population is urban. The industries and agriculture of the country have been mechanized, so that we may say that technological advancements have taken place at a more rapid pace than have social and economic changes in the ways of living. The depression brought full realization of a fact which had been evolving for some time in our social order, but had been, up to that time, only vaguely understood, namely, that proper provision for the induction of youth into adult life can no longer be made in the same way it was made in the past.

Vocational needs of adolescents. The enormous increase in high school enrollment was pointed out in the previous chapter; however, a large number of adolescents graduate from high school or leave it before graduation with no vocational plans for the future, with a lack of understanding of their own potentialities, with little knowledge of occupational demands and opportunities, and with poor marketable

skills. A challenge is presented to the educational and socializing agencies today so to train adolescents that they will be productive and well adjusted citizens of the world of tomorrow. The vocational needs of adolescents should be thought of as all-inclusive. In their broadest interpretation they would include health, citizenship, social adjustments, mental hygiene, religious and moral development, and guidance. However, the emphasis on educational needs, as presented in the previous chapter, is confined in the main to their generally accepted function—that of guidance and training in connection with the materials of the school curriculum. The discussion here may be looked upon as an extension of the concepts already presented. The discussion of guidance in this chapter, however, will be mainly confined to the vocational area.

The fundamental difference between the problems of livelihood that confronted the primitive adolescent and those confronting the adolescent in civilized society today are: (1) Specialized training in highly developed fields of human endeavor has become essential for the pursuit of a livelihood. (2) The great differentiation of work brought about by specialization gives a diversity of advantages to different types of work and to different abilities. (3) Vocational prospects of girls have broadened so as to emphasize economic worth and individual ability in the main, rather than to reveal a sharp line of division on the basis of sex.

In the study by Doane² referred to in the previous chapter, the choice of a course of action was interpreted as indicating the existence of a psychobiological need in the area provoking the greatest intensity of response. More concern was noted in the area of *Vocational Choice and Placement* than in any other area. Among the ten topics within this area, those chosen most often were *How to apply for a job*, *Keeping a job*, and *Finding out what kind of work you are best suited for*. The topics related to training for a job were chosen less frequently than most of the vocational guidance items by both boys and girls in each age group. This seems to indicate that there is a greater felt need among adolescents for vocational guidance than for vocational training. The feeling of need for such help was more evident in boys than in girls and reached its height as the time for leaving school drew near.

Interviews with youths will verify the notion that, if a student once

² Donald C. Doane: "The Needs of Youth: An Evaluation for Curriculum Purposes," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education*. No. 848, 1942.

drops out of school, he will not likely go back again. Those fortunate enough to find reasonably good jobs, or even jobs that barely provide them with the necessities of life and some small amount of spending money, will hesitate to leave them. Youths without jobs are either unable to find enough money to return to school, or, most usually, have lost their ambition and desire to better themselves in the occupational world. It has constantly been noticed that one of the greatest evils of continued unemployment is its demoralizing effect. Studies conducted by the Division of Research of the Works Progress Administration reveal that many youths out of school "were not actively seeking work either because they were kept busy at home or because long unemployment had broken down their morale to the point where they had abandoned hope of getting work by their own efforts."³

The gulf is too wide between the program of the school and the vocational demands of life. Young people too often enter blind-alley jobs, or wander for years after they leave school, from one job to another. The vocational needs of adolescents may be summarized as follows: (1) a better understanding of their own aptitudes and limitations, (2) occupational information—including occupational opportunities and job requirements, (3) vocational training, both in school and through work experiences, and (4) the opportunity to use their abilities once developed, or, the right to a job. If these needs are to be satisfied, there must be more vocational guidance in our schools. Guidance is based upon a recognition of the existence of individual differences and the philosophy of freedom of choice. The field of guidance has been divided into six comprehensive areas. These are: (1) occupational information, (2) cumulative records, (3) counseling, (4) survey of training opportunities, (5) placement, and (6) follow-up.⁴

Vocational aspirations. There is a marked tendency on the part of high school students to aspire to a rather high goal in their vocational planning. More than one third of them plan to enter the professions, which now include approximately 5 per cent of our adults. In addition to this, according to the *Fortune* Survey, over one third of high-school girls plan to enter business—mainly in clerical and secretarial positions. These vocational aspirations indicate that they are planning to enter occupations that will require post-high-school training. These

³ "Urban Youth: Their Characteristics and Economic Problems," Division of Research, Works Progress Administration, Series 1, No. 24, 1939.

⁴ R. E. Marshall: "Unifying the Guidance Program," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals*, October 1941, p. 78.

findings are most important in relation to our present-day economy. There is a likelihood that as the semi-skilled trades, farming, and other occupations chosen less frequently by high school students are made more attractive and provide a better income, more high school students will choose such vocations. More than half of the high school students who selected an occupation other than factory work or a skilled trade responded *yes* to this question put to them in the *Fortune* Survey:⁵ "If you could be reasonably sure of earning as much money by being a skilled worker as at other things, would you then consider learning a skill or working in a factory or at a trade?" Of those who responded *no*, over one half stated as the main reason for their refusal the fact that they had their minds set upon some other, specific occupation. Less than five per cent, and these were mainly girls, stated that they would not do such work because it would lower their social prestige or position.

Other materials related to the vocational aspirations of adolescents are presented in Table XXXI.⁶ There is a decided interest in securing a position offering some degree of security. Adolescents from low-income families are motivated by the desire for security on the job more than are adolescents from higher-income groups, who have probably never experienced the lack of a feeling of security.

Occupational choices and opportunities. Occupational choices have been so affected by the social factors that they are out of harmony with occupational demands. This becomes evident from a further study of choices commonly made by high school boys and girls. The influence of parents on the choice of the occupation of their children has been revealed in a number of general studies. Kroger and Louttit⁷ give the results from a questionnaire study of 4,543 boys in four technical and academic high schools. About 90 per cent of the boys expressed vocational choices. A majority indicated choices higher than those of their fathers. When compared with census figures, 70 per cent of the boys indicated a preference for types of work engaged in by only 35 per cent of those gainfully employed today. These findings are further substantiated by the results of the study by Lazarsfeld⁸ of 2,709 school

⁵ "Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, December 1942, p. 9.

⁶ "Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, December 1942, pp. 8-9.

⁷ R. Kroger and C. M. Louttit: "The Influence of Fathers' Occupations on Vocational Choices of High School Boys," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1935, 19, pp. 203-212.

⁸ Paul F. Lazarsfeld and others: *Coming of Age in Essex County*. Superintendent of Schools and University of Newark, Newark, N. J., 1937.

TABLE XXXI

HERE ARE THREE DIFFERENT KINDS OF JOBS. IF YOU HAD
YOUR CHOICE, WHICH WOULD YOU PICK?

	ALL STUDENTS	BOYS	GIRLS
A job which pays quite a low income, but which you are sure of keeping.	47.0%	41.3%	52.9%
A job which pays a good income, but which you have a 50-50 chance of losing.	29.5	30.2	28.8
A job which pays an extremely high income if you make the grade, but in which you lose almost everything if you don't make it	22.4	27.8	16.8
Don't know.	1.1	.7	1.5

COMPARISON OF VARIOUS GROUPS WITH RESPECT TO PREFERENCE
FOR JOBS THAT OFFER DIFFERENT DEGREES OF SECURITY

	DON'T KNOW	LOW-INCOME SECURITY	GOOD PAY AT 50-50	ALL OR NOTHING
Negroes. ....	.9%	68.2%	13.1%	17.8%
Poor.	1.3	60.3	24.0	14.4
Prosperous upper middle group.	1.1	33.7	36.1	29.1
From laboring parents.	1.3	58.6	23.8	16.3
From executive and professional parents.	1.4	32.8	34.7	31.1
Uninformed. ....	.6	60.0	22.9	16.5
Well informed.	2.4	28.6	38.5	30.5

WHAT OCCUPATIONS ARE YOU PLANNING TO ENTER?

	ALL STUDENTS	BOYS	GIRLS
The professions, in this order: engineering, nursing, teaching, arts, medi- cine, and law.	35.8%	36.1%	35.5%
Business—mainly clerical and secretarial	21.1	8.0	34.4
Factory work, skilled trades, mechanics.	8.6	14.4	3.1
Government work—mostly armed forces	4.5	8.5	.3
Farming.	3.2	6.2	.2
Other.	11.4	12.2	10.4
Don't know.	15.4	14.6	16.1

children. This investigation revealed that 77 per cent of the boys had chosen occupations which they had no chance of entering and only 40 per cent showed evidence of factual knowledge of their chosen occupations. Interesting materials in connection with this problem have been presented by Lehman and Witty.⁹ Some of their results are presented in Figure 13. It reveals that about 50 per cent of 14-year-old boys

⁹ H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty: "One More Study of Permanence of Interests," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1931, 22, pp. 481-492. A study related to this one was made by Stout: "Guidance in Rural Schools," *Purdue University Bulletin on Higher Education*, 1935, 36, pp. 35-41. In this study it is pointed out that 75 per cent of farm children must be guided into non-farming occupations,

expect to enter the professions, whereas less than 5 per cent of the gainfully occupied males in the United States are actually engaged in these professions. Likewise, 31 per cent of girls aged 18 expect to become stenographers or typists, whereas less than 10 per cent of the gainfully employed females are actually engaged in stenography and typing.

Occupational trends. Every teacher concerned with counseling students about their vocational aspirations should be informed concerning

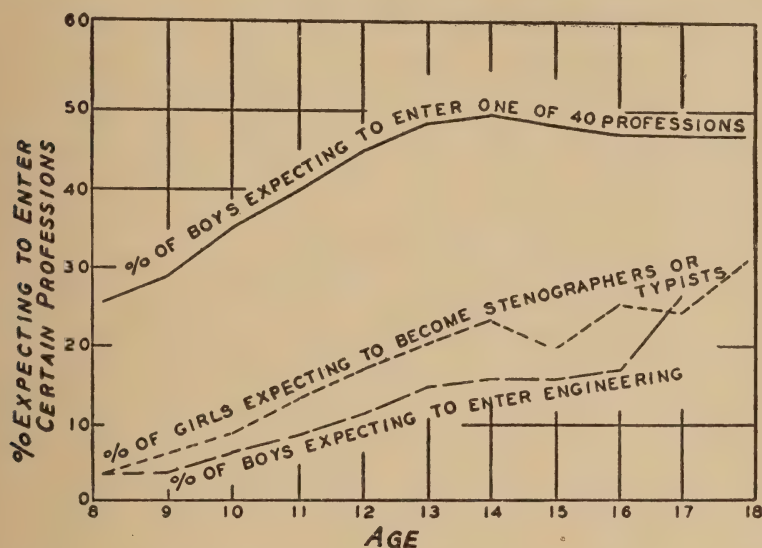


FIG. 13. Percentage of boys and girls expecting to enter certain occupations.

occupational demands and trends. As late as 1870 more than one half of all American workers were engaged in agriculture. At the present time less than twenty per cent are so engaged, and with the development and use of more farm machinery this number will decrease still more. The largest group of workers is made up of those employed in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. This group includes almost thirty per cent of all workers. Since manufacturing has been organized so as to provide for specialized activity, most of the work is done by workers operating various machines or doing some specialized mechanical task.

A detailed job analysis of manufacturing plants in Minnesota by Koepke, a number of years ago, provides excellent information about the number of jobs requiring different degrees of skill that are offered

because the farms will not support a larger number. This is a crucial problem in the guidance program for rural youths.

by industry.¹⁰ The workers surveyed were grouped into five classes on the basis of the amount of skill required for their work. Classes *A* and *B* comprised skilled mechanics, and made up ten per cent of the workers; classes *C* and *D* comprised semi-skilled operators, and constituted seventy-nine per cent of the workers; and class *E* (the unskilled group) accounted for the remaining eleven per cent. These trends in job requirements are important in any consideration of the program of the secondary school. Floyd W. Reeves is quoted as saying:

In 1880 only six per cent of our boys and girls went beyond the eighth grade. Today over sixty-five per cent go to high school, and more than seventy per cent of these pupils are, of necessity, destined to become manual workers. Yet a majority of high-school curriculums are still chiefly designed to prepare students for either college or for white collar jobs.¹¹

Educational demands. There is good evidence that the increased demand for universal education on the secondary level is not a result of the demands of various occupations or jobs. This is not to say that there is no need for universal education on the secondary level; but rather a suggestion that such a need must be based upon factors related to the increasing complexity of our social order, and not to actual demands of the many different types of work that have been created by the use of the machine. A recent sampling study covering twenty-eight per cent of the gainfully occupied population, which, it is suggested, is representative of those holding seventy per cent of all jobs, reveals that most employers do not demand of the workers any education beyond that of the elementary school.¹² Furthermore, only nine per cent of all employers require some attendance at college.

During the summer and fall of 1938 more than 30,000 youths from seven widely separated cities, who were selected at random from lists of eighth grade graduates of 1929 and 1931, were interviewed by the Research Division of the WPA.¹³ An analytic study was made of factors or conditions related to the "disadvantaged group." This group was made up of those youths who had been unemployed at least fifty per cent of their total time in the labor market and who had had, in addi-

¹⁰ C. A. Koepke: *A Job Analysis of Manufacturing Plants in Minnesota*. Bulletins of the Employment Stabilization Research Institute. University of Minnesota Press, 1934, 2, No. 8.

¹¹ Quoted from *Educational Digest*, April, 1940, p. 63.

¹² Howard M. Bell: *Matching Youth and Jobs*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1940.

¹³ *Disadvantaged Youth on the Labor Market*. Division of Research, Works Progress Administration, Series 1, No. 25, 1940.

TABLE XXXII

MINIMUM EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS SET FORTH BY
EMPLOYERS HIRING FOR 2,216 OCCUPATIONS IN
18 INDUSTRIES

Minimum Requirements	Percentage of Occupation
None (other than ability to speak, read, and write English)	47.1
Some elementary school	7.8
Elementary school graduation	12.1
Some high school	3.8
High school graduation	20.2
Some college	2.5
College graduation	6.5

tion, as the minimum amount, one year of unemployment. This disadvantaged group pointed out that the most common difficulty encountered was that of lack of experience. The question most frequently met by the individual seeking his first job related to *experience*. This is a serious problem. How is one to get experience without a job? It is, no doubt, one of the most important problems in the training of youths today for the labor market of tomorrow.

Vocational guidance. It has already been pointed out that the vocational aspirations of adolescents are not in harmony with occupational needs. There is also evidence that vocational interest-patterns become fairly well stabilized by the time the individual reaches the eleventh grade, although circumstances and opportunities oftentimes affect vocational choices after this period. Taylor and Carter administered the *Strong Vocational Interest Blank* to fifty-eight girls, first in the eleventh grade, and a year later in the senior year in high school.¹⁴ Profiles of interests based upon the results obtained from these two tests revealed considerable stability in individual interest-patterns during the year interval. This presents a challenge to those concerned with the guidance of adolescent boys and girls during the early high school years. In relation to this problem, Roeber and Garfield state:

To the extent that students in the eleventh and twelfth grades tend to select occupations outside of the professions, we have evidence of a more mature and realistic point of view. The fact that such trends are limited im-

¹⁴ K. V. F. Taylor and H. D. Carter: "Retest Consistency of Vocational Interest-Patterns of High-School Girls," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 1942, 6, pp. 95-101.

plies that the secondary school has a definite responsibility for helping students look at occupations realistically. When we find that the choices of seniors differ only slightly from those of freshmen, and that the hopes of both groups are in great measure illusory, we can infer that the school has been relatively ineffective in the vocational guidance of its students.¹⁵

As we have suggested, when boys over fifteen or sixteen years of age who are interested in becoming lawyers, doctors, preachers, or members of some other profession are advised to enter some mechanical type of activity more in harmony with their abilities, they may often resist such advice. Furthermore, high school students have too often been attracted to professional and so-called "white collar" jobs under the influence of the example of some outstanding individual. Perhaps it is a successful uncle who studied law and is now a superior-court judge, or it may be an acquaintance who has made much money through selling life insurance, etc. Now it is at this point that a great deal of vocational advice fails. The individual tends to picture his chosen work from the viewpoint of those who are highly successful in the work; he does not see its failures and hardships. The professions are held up as being clean, honorable, easy occupations offering good pay and considerable social prestige; the more mechanical activities are conceived to be laborious and dirty, unskilled, inferior in social status and in pay. This division, which sprang up before the day of the trained engineer and farmer, is not as well defined today; but the line of demarcation has been set up in part in the minds of the majority of boys and girls. One of the most prominent developments in recent years, in connection with the expansion of education, is the raising of so many other lines of human endeavor to a level close to that of the professions.

Not only is the discussion presented here true for young men, but similar factors are also valid for high school girls. In the past vocational guidance has been meager, and almost exclusively for men, but today it is reaching into the lives of high school girls. Observe the large number of girls occupied in various pursuits; notice the many lines of endeavor in which women engage. With the inclusion of so many activities in woman's domain has come their acceptance as desirable social positions, and thus they have become generally occupied by young women. Vocational guidance, then, has a prominent appeal for the young women of tomorrow. Yet there is no doubt that homemaking

¹⁵ Edward Roeber and Sol Garfield: "A Study of the Occupational Interests of High-School Students in Terms of Grade Placement," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1943, 34, pp. 355-362.

and the various phases of life that go with it will continue to play an ever-increasing, though changing, role in the life of the girl and in the educational process. For vocational guidance should be directed toward the clarification of impressions already existing as well as toward the setting forth anew of certain ideas.

Vocational training in the schools. The ever-increasing complexity of our industrial order emphasizes the necessity for vocational guidance



Courtesy Roosevelt Junior High School, New Britain, Conn.

Education functions in everyday living.

and counseling, as well as for the provision of certain sample types of industrial training for boys and girls, who will later perform similar productive activities in their economic life. Traditionally, young people have met this problem by adjusting themselves to vocational requirements outside of school, through actual employment as beginners. Abrupt transitions accompanied by emotional upsets, "rougher" factory conditions, and the danger of exploitation were some of the results due to the limitations of a system that failed to integrate school with postschool experiences. Progressive schools today are committed to the principle of bridging the gap between the life of the community and the activities within an educational institution.

There are some skills that are basic to broad fields of work; and there is knowledge of a vocational nature that is closely related to a large group or class of occupations or vocations. For example, agriculture is a term that is used in connection with many occupations—even with those of the proprietor of the country grocery store and the man who distributes farm goods and machinery. There is knowledge about the motor car and about the engine that pulls it through space that is important not only for the manufacture, repair, and operation of the motor car, but for many related occupations as well. Thus, training in agriculture, home economics, industrial arts, and business education tends to function in a manner sufficiently extensive to justify its existence without impairing training in other principles necessary to the wholesome development of the individual student. "Furthermore," as Bent and Kronenberg have pointed out, "these fields, viz., home economics, industrial arts, business education, and agriculture have social and personal value as well as vocational, which is an additional reason why they can be included."¹⁶

However, the education of adolescents who give themselves wholeheartedly to the academic pursuits of high school on a full-time basis is destined to become a less important function of the public secondary school. The idea of "liberal" (academic) education for the gifted and "vocational" education for those less well-endowed academically seems to some to be an undemocratic caste-form of school program. In recent years this attitude has been changing and, beginning with the Smith-Hughes Law of 1917, the federal government has constantly sought to encourage and stimulate the development of vocational education. Substantial federal funds (available to the states on the dollar-for-dollar matching principle) for this work are in large measure responsible for the great variety of courses offered and the large number of students now enrolled in them. However, it was pointed out in a fairly recent report dealing with youth and vocational training that:

There are almost 7,000,000 high-school students in the United States. Yet only 40,000 or about one out of 117, are taking agriculture courses, although about half our youth live in rural areas. Only about 600,000 students are able to take industrial or trade courses. There are about 3,000,000 girls in our high schools; yet only one in six is able to take courses in homemaking—cooking, sewing, child care, or similar courses.¹⁷

¹⁶ Rudyard K. Bent and Henry H. Kronenberg: *Principles of Secondary Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941, p. 359.

¹⁷ D. S. Ward and E. M. Selberg: *Youth and Jobs*. Unit Studies in American

In the light of the findings of modern psychology relative to generalized experience and socio-industrial developments making for rapid changes in occupations, vocational programs need to be organized for broader skills and knowledge rather than around narrow skills and highly specialized knowledge. It has been pointed out that such programs should consist of the following phases: "(a) practical, concrete activities and experiences of the occupations represented, (b) related science and technical information, and (c) the social and economic understandings and appropriate attitudes."¹⁸ The school program provides largely for the second of these and to a lesser degree for the third. In order to provide for the first, it is necessary to readjust the educational and vocational programs.

In connection with the organization and planning of vocational courses, it has been pointed out that, "there is increasing recognition that highly specialized types of vocational education should be reserved until the period immediately prior to the time when the pupil leaves the full-time school, and that in many cases the young person can better come back for specialized vocational courses after he has made a beginning in some suitable occupation."¹⁹ It has been proposed that the reorganized secondary school curriculum should involve the specific activities that high school youth is now experiencing, subject to guidance and integration of these experiences with materials related to different aspects of the school program. There are two types of such activities found in most communities that can be used for this purpose. One of these is made up of the gainful occupations; the other involves civic-social participation. According to Julius L. Meriam, twelve per cent of all high school pupils are wage earners on a part-time basis.²⁰ Many of these students work because of economic necessity; others are motivated by special interests and the desire to be usefully and actively employed.

A survey of the work opportunities in almost any community, under normal conditions, will reveal a great number of jobs well within the capacities of high school youth, and, at the same time, educationally

Problems, North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. New York: Ginn and Co., 1942, p. 19.

¹⁸ L. V. Koos, J. M. Hughes, P. W. Hutson, and W. R. Reavis: *Administering the Secondary School*. New York: American Book Co., 1940, p. 75.

¹⁹ Floyd W. Reeves: *Youth and the Future*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1942, p. 139.

²⁰ Julius L. Meriam: "The High-School Curriculum," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 1942, 25, pp. 13-16.

valuable, if conducted under the supervision and guidance of competent school authorities. There is perhaps no limit to what can be done in this connection. However, it is obvious that difficulties may arise relative to child-labor legislation or to conflict with labor organizations. However, if this work is conceived to be an educational adventure and if precautions are taken to safeguard the pupils from exploitation, one part of the difficulty will have been overcome. Furthermore, if the public recognizes that the work is done as part of the school program, and is not a procedure for supplying cheap labor, the second problem can be overcome as well.

The co-operative plan of education, whereby boys and girls of senior high school age spend part of their time at work and part in school, has many advantages. Such plans have been used successfully in various types of school programs, and have received the sanction of a number of educational agencies. There are, however, definite precautions to be taken, for the dangers inherent in part-time work should be eliminated as far as possible. Experience in certain types of work, it has been pointed out, is oftentimes available in the home. Qvol Spafford has stated:

Young people, who wish to do so, may secure home employment for almost any kind of work in which they are skilful, for as much time as they wish to be so occupied. Home economics teachers have a real responsibility for making this employment an educational experience for those who undertake it.²¹

Values of work experience. For the majority of youth the need is for work experience rather than for training for some specific job. As a result of studies dealing with this problem, Jacobson has stated: "What they need is work experience, vocational guidance, placement, and an understanding of vocations and their possibilities."²² Materials presented in the study by Bell²³ lend support to this notion. According to the opinion of employers in occupations believed to employ seventy per cent of all workers, more than two thirds of those workers could be trained to reach full production in one week or less, and less than ten per cent of them would need to be trained for a period of six months or more.

²¹ Qvol Spafford: "Adjusting Home Economics to Wartime Needs," *The School Review*, 1943, 51, p. 36.

²² North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools: *General Education in the American High School*. New York: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1942, p. 272.

²³ Howard M. Bell: *op. cit.*, p. 58.

TABLE XXXIII

LENGTH OF TRAINING-ON-THE-JOB NEEDED TO REACH
NORMAL PRODUCTION IN 2,216 OCCUPATIONS
IN 18 INDUSTRIES

Length of Training	Percentage of Occupations
None	8.5
One week or less	59.0
More than one week, but less than one month	11.3
More than one month, but less than three	6.1
More than three months, but less than six	5.6
More than six months	9.6

Some of the work experiences that might well be offered to youth are those involving community beautification and betterment.²⁴ Certainly, the care of wild life, the conservation of natural beauty as well as of natural resources, and the elimination of rubbish and other unpleasant elements from the physical environment will, in the end, make for community betterment as well as for immediate beautification. The extent to which such enterprises are carried out will depend in a large measure upon the personnel concerned with the initiation of the program. Problems connected with sanitation, recreational projects, and social needs can well be solved through the activity of youth groups, provided help, encouragement, and leadership are given by schools and civic groups in initiating the program. Some communities are providing work experiences in various types of community surveys and in certain types of research activities relative to community conditions, needs, and problems. These and many other more or less related types of work are among the things that can be done by youth groups. Such work experiences may thus be valuable for the improvement of the community at the same time that they are furnishing experiences of an educational nature to the youths involved in them.

Charles P. Schwartz, Jr., of the University High School, Chicago, Illinois, spent eleven weeks during the summer of 1942 on a farm in Wisconsin. His description of some of his activities there reveal the values that such work experiences may have for an urban boy. He writes as follows:

²⁴ Good examples of the employment of NYA youth to provide for recreational needs and leadership in communities in Texas, Minnesota, and California may be found in the April, 1940 Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, which is entitled *Youth and Work Opportunities*.

Before we left we had quite a few meetings at school, learning, after a fashion, about farm life. We also sent to the Department of Agriculture for some pamphlets, but we found that we needed some practical experience before they would do us much good.

Finally the day arrived. It was Saturday, June 20th. We left the city at noon and arrived at the farm about two o'clock.

That evening I did my first chores, throwing down silage, feeding horses and pigs, and a few other miscellaneous chores. These were to increase as the summer went on, but then they were all I could handle. Never having been on a farm before, I learned quite a few facts my first day: that milk was warm when it came out of a cow, that silage was warm, that pigs really deserved the name of hog. . . .

Among the things which I thought were unusual during my first few days were: how horses could eat so much hay, and how much housekeeping horses and cows required; I had to clean the barns. . . .

One of my biggest jobs during the summer was the shoveling of grain during combining. After combining was over I wondered how I could ever have shoveled so much grain but I guess I did. . . .

I had to go home on the fifth of September, but as I look back on the summer I feel that it was about the best I ever had and that if I'm needed I would like to go back. I acquired many new skills and saw the rural way of life and its outlook.²⁵

There is a tendency on the part of many people to consider work as something practical and useful, as opposed to play, which is regarded as meaningless and useless. Then there are those who look upon schooling as theoretical and academic, in contrast to work, which, again, is thought to be practical, and, in addition, has come to be looked upon as always resulting in valuable work experience. Such a notion is neither sound nor truthful. If the CCC boy of a few years ago went out on the hillside and with his shovel dug a ditch according to directions, we found evidence of work; but unless this digging was related to problems of conservation of the soil, it had little meaning and significance for him. If what is derived from a program of work is to be anything more than the acquisition of certain skills and the exercise of the muscles, factual data must be related to the work. Haskyn has pointed out that:

The experience [the worker] obtains will depend upon his mental furniture in the way of ideas and general knowledge with which to piece together and interpret the events, incidents, and details which he encounters. . . . Personal development, for instance, is not derived from the performance

²⁵ Charles P. Schwartz: "Eleven Weeks on a Farm," *Progressive Education*, December 1942, pp. 432-433.

of labor. It is the product of the interpretive and inferential process an individual can make regarding his activities. This linking together of details is what makes the doing of anything an "experience."²⁶

The American Youth Commission has given a great deal of consideration to the problems involving the place of work experience in an educational program. In an effort to clarify its findings, it has formulated certain general principles, two of which are:

1. Appropriate amounts of useful work are desirable elements in the experience of children and youth of all ages. During the years of compulsory school attendance, such work should be subordinated to the requirements of schooling. In many instances, productive manual labor and other forms of useful work should be introduced into the school program as an element on a par with other major elements of a well-rounded curriculum.

2. In the personal development of every young person there comes a time when, in his or her own interest and in the interests of society, employment should replace school attendance as his or her major occupation. For many young persons this time comes at the age of 16, the age up to which school attendance should be compulsory. . . .²⁷

Summary. Vocational training is a function, a resultant of technological developments, economic changes, and social forces. It is based upon a recognition of the value of the individual as a member of a social group. Within the social group is variety, caused by the specialization of labor, and this calls for vocational guidance and training to the end that each individual may be successful and adjusted in his place in the world of work.

There is no unanimity of opinion concerning the effects technological developments are having upon the concept of the function of schooling. In many cases, such as in that of the specialization found on the assembly line, the need for training in specific vocational skills has decreased. It appears that there is now a need for a broader conception of vocational training, which will include character and personality development. Furthermore, the increased complexity of our social and economic structure has increased the need for considering training in citizenship as part of the vocational training program.

Scientific research has shown the following general facts to be characteristic of adolescent vocational interest:

²⁶ F. P. Haskyn: "Work Experience: Basic Issues," *Curriculum Journal*, January 1943, p. 25.

²⁷ The General Report of the American Youth Commission: *Youth and the Future*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1942, p. 58.

1. Pupils often make vocational choices on the basis of some single momentary factor, such as: social approval, some friend or kin engaged in the activity, an enthusiastic lecture, recency of contact with some animating personality, and so forth.

2. Even choices that are made momentarily are usually supported by some fairly well-developed interest. The choices made are somewhat in harmony with earlier life bends.

3. Pupils of both mediocre and superior mental ability have, to a very large extent, vocational preferences.

4. Vocational interests and ambitions of high school pupils are not in harmony with the actual possibilities of employment.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Account for the fact that the youth group is the one most affected by periods of unemployment.

2. What are some of the major causes of occupational maladjustments? Give some remedies.

3. What are the values of *work experience* for high school pupils? What are some dangers to be avoided?

4. List some of the basic factors to be considered in a sound vocational guidance program.

5. How has technological development affected the nature of vocational training? Illustrate your answer by reference to some jobs with which you are acquainted.

6. Using any data available relative to the number of people employed in various types of work in some nearby community (see the Census), outline the type of educational program needed for such a community.

7. How is vocational guidance related to vocational education? Compare the needs and values of each approach.

8. Show how self-analysis is of value with respect to a vocational guidance program.

9. Discuss the vocational outlook for youth. What are some significant problems related to it? How are some of these problems being partially met? What suggestions would you make to aid in meeting them?

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XIX

The Adolescent and a Democratic Society

THE SUPERIOR MAN IS LIBERAL TOWARDS OTHERS' OPINIONS, BUT DOES NOT COMPLETELY AGREE WITH THEM; THE INFERIOR MAN AGREES WITH OTHERS' OPINIONS, BUT IS NOT LIBERAL WITH THEM. *Confucius*

Human resources. The possibilities of a nation are limited by its resources. The 30,000,000 individuals found in our schools today are the human resources upon which the future of our country is largely dependent. The development of these resources represents the major task of our schools. These youths cannot be neglected without disastrous consequences. In times past the rearing and induction of boys and girls into adult life were functions of the family, the church, the schools, and privately controlled business and commercial concerns. These agencies worked harmoniously, according to the general philosophy of individualism, in bringing individuals to independent and self-sustaining adulthood. However, changed social and economic conditions have so altered conditions that many adolescents and youths are faced with critical problems relative to education, health, employment, and social and recreational needs. If the human resources present in growing boys and girls are to have the fullest and most complete utilization, those boys and girls must be guided in their maturation and development. This thought was well stated in a recent book dealing with twelve-year-olds:

At birth you give your child his biological inheritance, his health and mentality, but in addition to that you also present him with a social heritage made up of your own thinking, feeling, and guidance. These are fundamental in the foundation of his ideas and ideals. Only by helping our children realize the dignity and sacredness of all human life can we hope to work towards the building of a world based on peace, sympathy, and kindness; a world of co-operation and social sharing; where the individual is not lost in the group, and the group is not forgotten by the individual.¹

¹ From *Glimpses into Child Life*, by Rose Zeligs, copyright 1942 by Rose Zeligs, by permission of William Morrow & Co.

The social effects of technology. The adolescent of today is forced to adjust to a culture characterized by change, which brings with it confusion and conflict. This period of change is a result of the innovative forces of science, invention, and discovery, which have been termed, in recent years, *technology*. Gradually the entire world is being affected by this technological revolution. Work has become more highly specialized; individuals have become more dependent upon one another; natural boundaries have, to a large degree, disappeared; distances have been reduced from weeks and months, in terms of time, to hours; and nations have been brought closer together. Not only are the consequences of this revolution apparent in the changing material structure of society and the world of nations, but it is having an increasing effect upon the social and spiritual life of individuals and groups; a fact especially evidenced by the habits, attitudes, and values of adolescents today as contrasted with those of adolescents at the beginning of the present century.

The facts presented relative to economic trends lead one to the obvious conclusion that professional administrative and engineering positions cannot be the goal of all adolescents. Our economic system operates in many ways to limit social mobility, although social mobility—the opportunity to climb the economic and social ladder—has always been the dream of those coming to America from other lands. Youth should no longer be deluded by wishful thinking into reaching beyond its grasp. Just because a boy or girl does not choose the professions or some advanced technical field for his life work is no proof that he is a failure. Every individual should be brought to realize his responsibility to himself and to society, and to use his initiative in adjusting to the social-economic order in which he lives.

Adolescent boys and girls must be taught what the past several generations were not taught: namely, to realize that technological advancements have brought with them new problems and added responsibilities. The printing press, the radio, the movie, and the airplane have, or should have, revealed to us that technological advancements may serve as evil and destructive forces as well as beneficial ones. All too often we have hailed the benefits of science without considering the price that is being paid for them in terms of their effect upon society. H. L. Shapiro forcibly pointed out the price tag when he wrote:

In no aspect of our lives as members of a complex industrial community, or as a nation in the modern world, has technology brought greater responsibilities than in our attitudes toward the various groups that make up our



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society, or toward the peoples that constitute mankind. It is a commonly observed truism that the world grows more interdependent, and that our society demands increased co-operation from all its members, as mechanization progresses.²

Youth in politics. According to the 1940 census, over eight million people who had never before voted for a President were qualified to participate in the election of that year. Young people invariably follow in the footsteps of their parents in their political affiliations. However, the young people of today have certain characteristics distinguishing them from their counterparts of previous decades. Today youth is likely to be better educated than it was forty or fifty years ago. Secondly, young people now do not recognize party loyalty to the same degree as did their fathers of old. "Stand by the party no matter what they espouse nor whom they elect," has lost its appeal. Furthermore, the typically American, pervasive interest in experimentation has entered the political field, bringing with it the hint to youth that it is entitled to propose a better design even though that design may be opposed to past experience. It should be pointed out again that young people need guidance in these activities, in order that democratic ideals and democratic ways of behaving may become a part of them, a point emphasized, with a caution against overdoing it, by Wilma Lloyd:

In our society, under the dominance of our democratic tradition, the necessity of self-determination in its relation to social co-operation is clearly recognized. Continuing development of democratic ideals depends upon it. But by and large we have fallen, in practice, between two poles in the education of young people. We give them too much direction, stultifying the capacity for self-determination, or we give them too little direction, thus throwing on the child a responsibility beyond his capacity to bear. . . .

Recognizing the importance of self-determination demands a change in our attitude and behavior. Character is a way of living, motivated by a system of values which constitutes the individual himself. We cannot give these values; they are won through the process of self-discovery in evaluating both self and world in the ongoing activity of living. . . .³

Youth and the freedoms. Freedom is an American tradition. The cry of "freedom" has played an important role throughout our history—both in war and in peace. The results of the 1942 *Fortune* Survey of the opinions of American high school youth are most encouraging to

² Harry L. Shapiro: "Anthropology's Contribution to Interracial Understanding," *Science*, May 12, 1944, p. 373.

³ Wilma Lloyd: "Adolescence—A Quest for Selfhood," *Progressive Education*, April, 1939, p. 245.

those who believe in the principles of our democratic government.⁴ They reveal that youth has an ardent devotion to liberty, and indicate quite definitely that its devotion to liberty's ideals is more related to the things for which our forefathers fought than to conditions that have evolved, within recent times, from our industrial and technological developments. According to the results of the Survey, presented in Table XXXIV, 82.5 per cent would be least willing, of all the

TABLE XXXIV

RESPONSES OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TO THE QUESTION: "IF YOU HAD TO GIVE UP ONE OF THESE THINGS, WHICH WOULD YOU BE LEAST WILLING TO GIVE UP? WHICH ONE WOULD YOU BE MOST WILLING TO GIVE UP?"

	Least Willing	Most Willing
Freedom of speech	46.0%	.9%
Freedom of religion	36.5	1.8
The right to vote	5.2	6.4
Trial by jury	3.8	3.9
The right to change jobs if you want to . . .	3.0	20.8
The right to earn more than \$3,000 a year if you can	2.3	59.8
Don't know	3.2	6.4

freedoms, to give up that of speech or of worship. It may be said by some that these results are conditioned by the fact that high school youths never see the possibility of earning \$3,000 per year, and that thus it is easy for them to give up the right to do so, but this is not the case, as is shown by their answers to a subsequent question put to them. The average high school boy expects to be earning more than \$3,000 per year ten years after he is out of school.

The establishment of attitudes of co-operation, tolerance, loyalty, and honesty cannot be left wholly to the home; neither can the teaching of reverence, fidelity, and worship be left wholly to the church. The school must not be regarded simply as an institution for the dissemination of skill in the three R's, and of certain organized bits of knowledge. A serious obstacle to the improvement of educational methods, however, is the present uncertainty as to what are the most desirable attitudes and ideals to inculcate. Ideals evolve progressively with the experiences which create them. Hence, the ideals of our democratic

⁴ "The Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, November 1942, p. 8.

society must be restated from time to time, to accord with our efforts toward and experiences in better living. Again, persistence in a purely academic approach, rather than adoption of one centered in the interests and needs of adolescents, presents a barrier to the development of vitalized, meaningful attitudes and ideals. A factor that must be recognized today is the effect upon our materialistic order of the pressure exerted by institutions and forces that are primarily interested not in educational and moral values, but only in individual or group aggrandizement. It has been pointed out by Isaiah Bowman, President of Johns Hopkins University, that:

We can avoid the authoritarian road only by choosing the free road. A body of prescribed doctrine, approved books, dialectical smartness and *a priori* opinion masquerading as 'wisdom' can give 'unity' also, as authoritarian governments have amply demonstrated. The strength of our American unity is in our free way of uniting. Our purpose is to train that freedom into responsibility. The growth of our educational program is due to the demonstrated need for the trained and responsible men and women we help to produce, with all faults of training and learning fully and freely admitted.⁵

If our youth is to assume a positive rather than a neutral or perhaps negative attitude toward democracy, it must be given a function to perform and responsibilities to fulfill, gifts that would make come true the dream of many to grant to youth the opportunity for education, for health, for the satisfaction of social and recreational needs, and for participation in democratic living. The fathers of this nation have left to us the heritage of freedom of action, but with that heritage goes the responsibility of preserving it for future generations. Indeed, to the youth of every age is given the responsibility of preserving and enlarging the significance of the principles underlying the American way of life, so that future generations may find those ideals more firmly established, and the visions of those who sacrificed their lives and fortunes to establish them more completely fulfilled.

Education for world citizenship. Education for world citizenship can only be brought about when world citizenship becomes part of the goal of society, and particularly the goal of teachers, parents, and others concerned with the guidance of youth, for both now and for the future. Training for world citizenship, like training in democratic ways of living, cannot be relegated to some special department of the school; but will require the attention and consideration of every teacher of

⁵ From *Science*, January 30, 1942, p. 126.

every subject, co-ordinated with ideals and practices in the home, on the playground, at church, and in other community activities.

American boys and girls must be trained to detect the economic fallacies that led us toward imperialism at one decade and into isolation a generation later. They must come to understand that favorable conditions for trade will provide opportunities for other nations to pay for our goods by selling us their goods in exchange. They must be given an understanding of how our technology operates, and how it has affected our way of living. They must come to see that the various agencies of production are so complex and interrelated that, without planning and regulation, economic chaos would result. They must be shown the possibility and necessity of a full life for all members of our society. Relative to these needs, Douglass has pointed out:

The fundamentals of American education must prepare the American people to resist efforts of any propaganda group, British or otherwise, to maintain imperialism and the exploitation of weaker nations in Asia, Africa or elsewhere. . . . It must enable him to understand and to discourage the exploitation of less well developed peoples by powerful and unscrupulous American business organizations such as has prevailed for more than three quarters of a century in Mexico, all South American countries, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines.

The fundamentals of American education must include a deep inculcation of American ideals, the ideals of democracy and equal opportunity. They must include inculcation of ideals which make for co-operation and the general welfare, ideals of fair and upright dealings with all others. . . .

The fundamentals of American education must prepare the American citizen to think for himself, so that he will not be herded about by newspapers and radio demagogues. . . . Habits and abilities of clear thinking which will pierce the surface of clever propaganda and free the American citizen from the ring in his nose by which he has been led in recent decades must be included.⁶

Summary. The boys and girls now in school are the potential citizens of tomorrow. They represent the human resources needed for the process of development.

Every classroom, laboratory, shop, or playground offers opportunities for the development of democratic methods and ideals, but such development requires guidance of youth in participation, from those concerned with their training.

Technology has brought with it many problems in our cultural,

⁶ Harl R. Douglass: "Essentials of a Post-War Educational Program," *The Educational Forum*, 1943, 7, pp. 370-372.

social, and economic order. The effects of science and invention are being felt in almost all parts of the world, and are creating world, rather than individual, problems. The education of boys and girls demands that consideration be given to these problems, and that training for *world citizenship* be one of its goals. Again, if democracy is to survive and function effectively for the well-being of all the people, the school must accept its challenge, and provide students with the information, skills, and attitudes that will equip them to meet the problems of tomorrow. Youth must be trained to pass sound judgment on national and international issues and policies; and it must be equipped with values consistent with a philosophy of world-wide brotherhood. This should be the goal of all our institutions concerned with training youth for world-wide obligations and responsibilities.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Discuss the importance of adolescents as resources in a democratic society.
2. Evaluate the three major growth-steps, which adolescents in our culture are expected to take, presented in this chapter.
3. What is the significance to you of the findings relative to *youth and the freedoms* presented in Table XXXIV?
4. What do you understand the term *world citizenship* to mean? How is this problem related to education?
5. Elaborate on the quotation from Douglass concerning the place of the American school in inculcating ideals and in the formation of ethical character.

SELECTED REFERENCES

American Youth Commission, General Report: *Youth and the Future*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1942.

Edwards, Newton: "The Adolescent in Technological Society," *Adolescence*. Forty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part 1. Chicago: Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1944.

Edwards, Newton (Editor): *Education in a Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1941.

Thorpe, Louis P., and Holliday, Jay N.: *Personality and Life*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941, Chap. 10.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Selected Bibliography

Abel, Theodore, and Kinder, Elaine F.: *The Subnormal Adolescent Girl*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. 215 pp.

The problems of subnormal adolescent girls are presented in a systematic and comprehensive manner. Special difficulties encountered by the subnormal adolescent girl in her home, in school, in the factory, and in the community at large are given special consideration.

Arlitt, Ada H.: *Adolescent Psychology*, with a preface by Cyril Burt. London: Allen, 1937. 246 pp.

A valuable view of adolescent growth; both theoretical and practical discussions are presented.

Averill, L. A.: *Adolescence*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936. 496 pp.

A comprehensive treatment of boys and girls in the teen years. A readable, interesting, and factual approach to a study of adolescents based upon the experiences of the author.

Bigelow, Maurice A.: *Adolescence: Educational and Hygienic Problems of Adolescence*. Edited by the National Health Council (revised edition). New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1937. 99 pp.

Blatz, William E.: *The Five Sisters*. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1938.

A report on the growth and development of the five Dionne sisters which points to the importance of environment and education in the development of the individual.

Blos, Peter: *The Adolescent Personality; A Study of Individual Behavior*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941. 517 pp.

This volume makes use of the case-history method of studying the adolescent. The influence of various conditions on the development of the personality is revealed through the case-study procedure.

Boynton, Bernice: "The Physical Growth of Girls. A Study of the Rhythm of Physical Growth from Anthropometric Measurements on Girls between Birth and Eighteen Years." *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1936, 13, No. 4. 105 pp.

A tabular and graphic presentation of results obtained from 22 physical and anthropometric measurements of girls between birth and 18 years.

Brooks, Fowler D.: *Psychology of Adolescence*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929. 652 pp.

An exhaustive and more or less encyclopedic treatment of adolescent

growth. Attention is also given to problems involved in personality growth and adjustment.

Cole, Luella: *Psychology of Adolescence* (revised edition). New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1942. 660 pp.

A readable presentation of the development of adolescents. Many brief case studies and pictorial graphs are introduced to illustrate and clarify different problems.

Conklin, Edmund S.: *Principles of Adolescent Psychology*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935. 437 pp.

Adolescent adjustment problems are given a fairly exhaustive and somewhat psychoanalytic treatment.

Crow, L. D., and Crow, Alice: *Our Teen-Age Boys and Girls*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1945. 365 pp.

The authors have presented a constructive and functional approach to the problems of teen-age boys and girls. Included are pertinent questions and illustrative stories taken from the lives of these young people.

Douglass, H. R.: *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1937.

In this report to the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education much useful information and a splendid interpretation of the needs of high school students are given.

Fisher, D. Canfield: *Our Young Folks*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1943. 399 pp.

In this volume the writer presents an informal report on problems faced by the great body of American youths who are maladjusted as a result of the narrow academic training provided in most schools. Mrs. Fisher points out the need for the use of aptitude tests in the guidance of students to avert vocational maladjustment. She also pleads for a more functional education to prepare youths to meet the problems of today.

Harley, D. L.: *Surveys of Youth: Finding the Facts*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1937. 106 pp.

This presents an annotated bibliography of the reports of nearly 200 local surveys of youths in various localities.

Harris, Erdman: *Introduction to Youth*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940. 221 pp.

This is a nontechnical presentation of information and suggestions on the guidance of youth. It is written for the layman as well as for the student of adolescent psychology. There is special emphasis upon the need for guiding youths in the formulation of a philosophy of life.

Hollingworth, Leta S.: *The Psychology of the Adolescent*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1928. 259 pp.

A most valuable book on the growth, sex, weaning, and maturity problems of adolescents. Students, parents, and teachers will find this material of interest and applicable to the adolescent stage of life.

Jones, Harold E., and others: *Adolescence*. Forty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: School of Education, University of Chicago, 1944. 358 pp.

An important addition to the literature on the psychology of adolescence, based on a summary of investigations in the fields of physiology, physical measurements, psychology, and sociology. A large group of well-known students of adolescent psychology have contributed to the findings and interpretations presented in this volume.

Knoebber, Sister Mary M.: *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent*. New York: Bruce Publishing Company, 1936. 206 pp.

A presentation of the feelings, ideals, and personality problems of adolescent girls as viewed by the adolescent girl herself.

Kunkel, Fritz: *What It Means to Grow Up*. Translated from the German by Barbara Keppel-Compton and Hilda Niebuhr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. 180 pp.

A translation of a German book giving considerable attention to the nature and significance of adolescent development.

Landis, Paul H.: *Adolescence and Youth*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1945. 470 pp.

Special emphasis is given to the social structure affecting the individual during the developmental stage. Problems concerned with the attainment of maturity in the moral, marital, and economic fields are given considerable attention.

Mead, M. J.: *From the South Seas: Studies of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Societies*. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1939. 1072 pp.

A one-volume edition of three anthropological works: "Coming of Age in Samoa," "Growing up in New Guinea," and "Sex and Temperament."

Meek, Lois H., and others: *The Personal-Social Development of Boys and Girls with Implications for Secondary Education*. New York: Progressive Education Association, 1940. 243 pp.

This is a report in which the thinking and experience of a number of people, including teachers, counselors, specialists, administrators, and research workers have been brought together. The report is especially concerned with the guidance and direction of adolescents in their personal-social relations.

Menefee, Louise A., and Chambers, M. M.: *American Youth: An Annotated Bibliography*. Prepared for the American Youth Commission, Washington: The American Council on Education, 1938, 492 pp.

An annotated bibliography of 2,500 selected references to works of over 200 authors covering the problems of modern youth.

Partridge, E. D.: *Social Psychology of Adolescence*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938. 361 pp.

A splendid survey of the ever-expanding fields of sociology and psychology, especially in relation to the problems of adolescents and youths in modern society.

Shuttleworth, Frank K.: *The Adolescent Period: A Graphic and Pictorial Atlas*. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Vol. III, No. 3, 1938.

Samples of the more important facts concerning adolescents and adolescent development are graphically and pictorially presented. A splendid

source for a fuller understanding of the nature and development of adolescents.

Strang, Ruth: *Behavior and Background of Students in College and Secondary School*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937. 515 pp.

Results of studies relating to adolescent problems—physical characteristics, intelligence, achievement, personality, attitudes, interests, and social and economic conditions—are given.

White House Conference on Child Health and Protection: *The Adolescent in the Family: A Study of Personality Development in the Home Environment*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934.

An extensive study of the effect of various factors in the home environment that affect a child's personality development.

Wile, I. S.: *The Challenge of Adolescence*. New York: Greenberg, 1939. 484 pp.

Taking data from the fields of biology, psychology, sociology, religions, and ethics, the author presents an interpretation of adolescence.

Zachry, Caroline B., in collaboration with Lighty, Margaret: *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. 563 pp.

This is a presentation of the findings of the study of adolescents by the Commission on Secondary-School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association, begun in 1934 and concluded in 1939. There are three parts to the volume. Part I describes the adjustment of the adolescent to himself as a developing person; Part II deals with his changing personal relationships; and Part III shows the development and change of his attitudes toward basic social institutions.

APPENDIX B

Annotated Bibliography of Popular Literature Related to the Adolescent Age*

Popular literature touching upon adolescence presents in a vivid manner the problems faced by real adolescent boys and girls as they grow toward maturity, although the stories themselves may be pure fiction. Since such books give a detailed and perhaps more realistic interpretation than scientific compilations of facts in a textbook, they should be of value to the reader in helping him to understand the significance of the adolescent period.

There are many books dealing with this period of life. The following list is by no means complete. In its compilation, the writers made an extensive survey of the field, and their list is a result of a selective process. Some of the books to be found in it deal with *growing up* in general. Others deal with the adolescent over a short period of time, and still others are concerned with some special problem of the adolescent years. The extent to which the social setting of the adolescent is introduced varies considerably—depending upon the author's points of view, interests, and purposes. From this bibliography, presented in annotated form, the reader will be able to find materials relative to adolescence that will be of interest and value to him.

Aldis, Dorothy: *All Year Round*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938.

The influence of a mother's triumphs and mistakes upon her three children, the nervous condition of a four-year-old, and the skillful treatment of an adolescent daughter are among the many interesting things sympathetically treated by the author.

Allen, Hervey: *Anthony Adverse*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1933.

* This list was devised by Richard L. Wampler and Karl C. Garrison of the Teachers College of Connecticut, and has been used in classes in child and adolescent psychology. (See "Annotated Bibliography of Popular Literature," *Peabody Journal of Education*, 1945, 23, pp. 18-23.)

Orphaned Anthony's solitary childhood in a convent, shut away almost completely from the outside world, is abnormal. His natural curiosity and need for young companions cannot be curbed and he finally has to be freed. Armstrong, Margaret: *Fanny Kemble*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938.

This book furnishes a vivid picture of Victorian child psychology, revealing its differences from modern views. When Fanny's family can do no more with her, they turn her over to a boarding school. Her treatment there contradicts all modern practices.

Baker, Mrs. D. D.: *Young Man with a Horn*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938.

Here is an example of innate ability strong enough to carry a youth from the confines of a poor environment to the heights of success. His interest in books and music helped him to ignore hardships.

Benney, Mark: *Angels in Undress*. New York: Random House, 1937.

A boy's unsuccessful struggles against the evils of postwar society and his attempts to compensate for the disadvantages of his social environment, result in harm to himself and others.

Benson, Mrs. Sally: *Junior Miss*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1941.

A collection of stories of Judy Graves and her family has been brought together in this volume. The tales of Judy, a twelve-year-old pupil at a private school for girls in New York City, give a good insight into child nature and life in New York.

Carter, John Franklin: *The Rectory Family*. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1937.

This whole book is a picture of normal family life in New England in the period just before World War I. The sensitiveness of the children to ridicule, embarrassment, and failure is sympathetically presented.

Childs, Marquis W.: *The Cabin*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

This is an understanding story of the life of a thirteen-year-old boy one summer on a Middlewestern corn farm. Tragedies unfold and are successfully met.

Clark, Walter Van Tilburg: *The City of Trembling Leaves*. New York: Random House, Inc.

A lengthy and somewhat colorful story of adolescence and youth. The story is set in Reno and the near by mountains.

Cronin, A. J.: *Green Years*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1944.

Green Years is a stirring story of Robert Shannon from his eighth year to his eighteenth. Robert may be classified as a waifish little boy, depending upon his grandfather for affection and security.

Curie, Eve: *Madame Curie*. New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., 1933.

A convincingly accurate, though brief, record of the super-scientist's childhood and the conditions and reverses that made her shy, nervous, overemotional, and mature for her age but which could not squelch her genius.

Delafield, E.: *Nothing Is Safe*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937.

Because of unhappiness caused by a split home, a brother and sister be-

came very dependent upon each other. This dependence is blamed for a neurotic condition which the boy develops, and the two children are separated. Owing to lack of understanding of the real difficulty it was never remedied and the children had to continue to suffer.

De La Roche, Mazo: *Growth of a Man*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1938.

A complete misunderstanding of his behavior by his grandmother leads an eight-year-old boy to overvalue success in school. Weaknesses of nineteenth century teaching are evident. Strict discipline at home and overwork do not lessen Shaw's determination to succeed.

De La Roche, Mazo: *The Very House*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1937.

In the form of fiction the author manages to set forth the principles of modern child psychology so that the lay reader can understand and perhaps transfer them to his own treatment of children.

Dell, Floyd: *Homecoming*. New York: Little, Brown, and Co., 1937.

Even the love of parents cannot protect Floyd from the effects of poverty. Lack of friends leads him to seek refuge in books.

Doyle, Helen M.: *A Child Went Forth*. New York: Gotham House, Inc., 1934.

During her whole childhood Helen adjusts to situations from which there is no escape. The strength of character she developed by overcoming these obstacles enriched her whole life.

Ewen, David: *The Unfinished Symphony*. New York: Modern Classics Publishers, Inc., 1931.

The author treats Schubert's childhood as that of a genius and credits him with experiencing none of the normal reactions of a child.

Farrell, James, T.: *Father and Son*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1940.

A lengthy but impressive story of the development of Danny O'Neill from adolescence up to the age of nineteen. There is a sort of realism presented which reveals the author's understanding of human nature.

Farrell, James T.: *No Star Is Lost*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1938.

Like *Studs Lonergan* by the same author, this book portrays a boy's struggles with and defeat by his environment. The lack of adjustment of the school to the needs of the community it serves is also evident.

Farrell, James T.: *Studs Lonergan*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1932.

This story presents a sociological study of the influences of a vigorous but often unfortunate environment upon Studs Lonergan, a son of middle-class Chicago.

Field, Isobel: *This Life I've Loved*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1937.

Isobel Field's story furnishes a study of the effect a change of environment had upon her childhood, and the way her experiences in a mining camp influenced her life in a large city.

Gibbs, A. Hamilton: *The Need We Have*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1936.

Denny at fourteen impresses one as the impish, young-for-his-age result of an oversheltered childhood, and then as a prodigiously mature mind of adult level with insight, judgment, and subtlety.

Gosta of Gerjerstam. (Translated by Birkeland): *Northern Summer*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1938.

The author has succeeded in picturing the happy development of children in a family living on a Norwegian island. Free from social conventions, and aided by the enthusiasm and guidance of their parents, they live naturally and happily together.

Gunnarsson, Gunnar: *Ships in the Sky*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1938.

Although the life of a child in Iceland must of necessity be quite different from that of children in our country, this book presents a valuable picture of how a child develops in lonely regions where the family is his whole society.

Hagedorn, Hermann: *Edwin Arlington Robinson*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938.

As the youngest child in the family Edwin Arlington Robinson was neglected, but was probably saved from maladjustment by his play-life with the neighborhood gang. Although not encouraged by others, his poetic talents developed naturally.

Hall, Marjory: *After a Fashion*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943.

This is a story of a young girl's career in the world of fashion.

Harriman, John: *Winter Term*. New York: Howell, Soskin Publishers, Inc., 1940.

The author presents an unsentimental story of American schoolboy life; and in this he shows unusual understanding of how boys think and feel.

Herbert, F. H.: *Meet Corliss Archer*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1944.

Corliss, a subdeb daughter of a well-to-do lawyer in an American city, is well known to many through the Good Housekeeping stories. The author presents some interesting experiences in Corliss' home and social life.

Hulme, Katheryn: *We Lived As Children*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1938.

Although often unhappy because their parents were divorced, this family of children lived a fairly satisfactory life. Many of the characteristic periods of childhood including gang life, collecting, etc., are included.

Kehoe, William: *A Sweep of Dusk*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1945.

The materials of this volume revolve around the problems of an oversensitive adolescent reared by an overbearing mother. The materials are drawn from the author's own experiences.

L'Engle, Madeleine: *The Small Rain*. New York: The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1945.

This is a touching story of the problems encountered by a young and talented artist during the adolescent years. Her disillusionments are characteristic of the life of many adolescents filled with zeal and ambition.

Leslie, Doris: *Full Flavor*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.

Although she was restrained by her mother, who tried to make her life the confined life of her contemporaries, Catherine managed to take her place as a business woman of the world.

Llewellyn, Richard: *How Green Was My Valley*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941.

A dramatic story of the struggles of a boy against the odds of poverty and class distinction in a mining area. His difficulties, privations, and thwartings are presented in an understanding manner.

Maugham, Somerset W.: *Of Human Bondage*. New York: Modern Library, Inc., 1940.

From a protected, pampered childhood Philip Cary is placed under the guardianship of his disciplinary uncle. Lack of understanding at home and humiliation caused by the ridicule of his club foot by his schoolmates and teachers makes him supersensitive and unhappy.

Maxwell, William: *The Folded Leaf*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945.

This is a story of the friendship begun by two normal boys at the age of fifteen. The conditions which draw them together, and the unfolding events of their friendships makes the book an interesting as well as good portrayal of human relationships.

Miller, Sidney: *Roots in the Sky*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938.

Through poverty and nationality difficulties these children of Jewish-American stock had many chances, if not justifications, for going wrong. The unifying kinship and loyalty to race-standards upheld by the Jewish religion helped avert a tragedy.

Morris, Hilda: *The Long View*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937.

This author is interested in showing how Asher Allen was influenced by his sober, Quaker environment and forced pride in his family name.

Parrish, Anne: *Poor Child*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945.

A tragic story of a twelve-year-old boy in need of security and affection, established in a household where he was neither loved nor understood.

Powell, E. Alexander: *Gone Are the Days*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1938.

The author visualizes objectively the conventional childhood experiences of the eighties and nineties in Syracuse, New York. The artificiality and restraint of the period are emphasized.

Rawlings, Marjorie Kinnan: *The Yearling*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1938.

Jody's solitary environment leads him instinctively to find companionship in nature. His father's influence helps the boy to develop a strong character.

Robertson, Eileen A.: *Summer's Lease*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940.

This is a story and a psychological study of a sensitive boy who was further handicapped by weak eyesight. There are the trials and pains of the boy as he tries to cope with problems accentuated by refined but unsuccessful home conditions.

Rölvaag, O. E.: *Peder Victorious*. New York: A. L. Burt Co., Inc., 1938.

This sensitive, inquisitive Dakota boy is too eager to grow up, is old for his age, and lives through emotional periods approaching maladjustment. A contrast between two teachers is especially well done. Like a number of

other authors Rølvaag criticizes the effects of certain religious experiences upon children.

Sale, Elizabeth: *Recitation from Memory*. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., Inc., 1943.

This is a story of the growing up of Fenella in the home of a happy letter carrier of Tacoma, Washington. It is written from the viewpoint of an older person looking back on happenings during the earlier years of life, and especially the years from the tenth to the fourteenth. The story is one filled with much action and adventure, with the introduction of many characters to enliven and make more realistic the events and happenings affecting Fenella.

Sackville-West, V.: *Saint Joan of Arc*. New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., Inc., 1936.

Because little is known about Joan's childhood, Sackville-West's account indicating that neither her inheritance nor her environment made her great, but that she became great in spite of them, is very brief and not very revealing.

Sessions, Ruth Huntington: *Sixty Odd: A Personal History*. Brattleboro, Vt.: Stephen Daye Press, 1936.

In this, another story of childhood in Cambridge at the time of the great intellectuals, the need for individual treatment in school, and the value of teaching skills for success, as well as many other modern practices, are mentioned.

Shanks, Edward: *Tom Tiddler's Ground*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1934.

Tom Florey's high intelligence helps him to advance quickly in school in spite of himself. The antagonistic attitude of Tom's father toward his progress does not extinguish the boy's determination to escape from the confines of his home town.

Shaw, Lau: *Rickshaw Boy*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1945.

An adventure story of a Chinese boy whose dream of happiness was to own a rickshaw.

Smith, Betty: *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943.

A colorful presentation of the childhood and youth of Francie Nolan, her family, and her friends. There is beauty and wholesomeness intermingled with plain realism in the problems faced by Francie as she strives to find for herself a place of usefulness in a larger social environment.

Spring, Howard: *My Son, My Son!* New York: Viking Press, Inc., 1938.

Parental attempts to shape the lives of two boys result in tragedy. One-sided personalities fail to fit the sons for adult life. Lack of understanding by the parents seems to have an effect upon the characters of all the children.

Strong, L. A. G.: *Sea Wall*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1933.

A simple, realistic portrayal of a childhood undirected and often bewildering. Nicky is convincing as a neglected child whose impressions and reactions are a result of overheard adult conversation. At a typical

English public school of the early twentieth century he is slighted and made miserable by rough practices of the students and faculty.

Strong, L. A. G.: *The Seven Arms*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1933.

This novel concerning the life of a large family of children reveals characters ranging from one extreme to the other. Included are the extrovert, bossy, thoughtful, daydreaming, weak, dependent, independent, and delicate types of children whose characters react upon one another.

Sullivan, Mark: *The Education of an American*. New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., Inc., 1938.

Although the author probably overemphasizes his earliest recollections, we obtain a picture of his simple, hardworking childhood, his satisfying school experiences, and his relations with his brothers and sisters.

Tarkington, Booth: *The Fighting Littles*. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1941.

The author gives an interesting and oftentimes funny presentation of the conflicts between youth and its parents. The teen-age children appear as real characters in their revolt against parental controls.

Tarkington, Booth: *Little Orvie*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, Inc., 1933.

This is a commendable handbook of how to get results opposite to what you want in dealing with children. Popularized through clever handling are the problems of nagging, thwarting, comparison with other children, discussion of child in his presence, shaming, etc.

Van Etten, Winifred: *I Am the Fox*. New York: Little, Brown, and Co., 1936.

Through lack of understanding and individual treatment by her elders, Selma Temple developed many misconceptions and fears.

Wells, H. G.: *Experiment in Autobiography*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.

In this book about himself H. G. Wells attempts to explain all his reactions to situations and conditions in a psychological way. He manages, however, to give a fairly good impression of child-life in the nineteenth century.

Wilkins, Vaughan: *And So Victoria*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1937.

Christopher Harnish, the boy who plays such an important part in this historical novel, leads a strange and unnatural life. Used as a foil by unscrupulous schemers, he suffers both physical and mental hardship.

Zugsmith, Leane: *Home Is Where You Hang Your Childhood*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1937.

In this collection of short fiction the author's tendency is to portray the child of abnormal circumstances, such as one of a divorced father and a mentally defective mother. Her treatment of them is good in proportion to the situation.

APPENDIX C

The Vineland Social Maturity Scale is included here by courtesy of The Training School at Vineland, New Jersey, Department of Research. This Scale is copyrighted, and should not be reproduced without permission.

A general application by those not schooled in this field will yield suggestively valuable facts; however, those who desire more reliable results should consult the Manual and carefully adhere to the standard method of administering and scoring the various items.

VINELAND SOCIAL MATURITY SCALE

Name	Age	M. A.	Date
Descent	Sex	Grade	I.Q.
Occupation	Yrs. Exp.	Class	Res.
Father's occupation		Class	Schooling
Mother's occupation		Class	Schooling
Informant	Relationship		Recorder
Remarks:		Basal Score	
		Additional pts.	
		Total score	
		Age equivalent	
		Social quotient	
		Informant's est.	

CATEGORIES¹ ITEMS

		O-I
C	1	"Crows"; laughs
SHG	2	Balances head
SHG	3	Grasps objects within reach
S	4	Reaches for familiar persons
SHG	5	Rolls over
SHG	6	Reaches for near-by objects
O	7	Occupies self unattended
SHG	8	Sits unsupported

¹ Key to categorical arrangement of items:

SHG—Self-help general	SD—Self-direction	L—Locomotion
SHD—Self-help dressing	C—Communication	O—Occupation
SHE—Self-help eating	S—Socialization	

SHG	9	Pulls self upright
C	10	"Talks"; imitates sounds
SHE	11	Drinks from cup or glass assisted
L	12	Moves about on floor
SHG	13	Grasps with thumb and finger
S	14	Demands personal attention
SHG	15	Stands alone
SHE	16	Does not drool
C	17	Follows simple instructions

I-II

L	18	Walks about room unattended
O	19	Marks with pencil or crayon
SHE	20	Masticates food
SHD	21	Pulls off socks
O	22	Transfers objects
SHG	23	Overcomes simple obstacles
O	24	Fetches or carries familiar objects
SHE	25	Drinks from cup or glass unassisted
SHG	26	Gives up baby carriage
S	27	Plays with other children
SHE	28	Eats with spoon
L	29	Goes about house or yard
SHE	30	Discriminates edible substances
C	31	Uses names of familiar objects
L	32	Walks upstairs unassisted
SHE	33	Unwraps candy
C	34	Talks in short sentences

II-III

SHG	35	Asks to go to toilet
O	36	Initiates own play activities
SHD	37	Removes coat or dress
SHE	38	Eats with fork
SHE	39	Gets drink unassisted
SHD	40	Dries own hands
SHG	41	Avoids simple hazards
SHD	42	Puts on coat or dress unassisted
O	43	Cuts with scissors
C	44	Relates experiences

III-IV

L	45	Walks downstairs one step per tread
S	46	Plays co-operatively at kindergarten level
SHD	47	Buttons coat or dress
O	48	Helps at little household tasks
S	49	"Performs" for others
SHD	50	Washes hands unaided

IV-V

SHG	51	Cares for self at toilet
SHD	52	Washes face unassisted
L	53	Goes about neighborhood unattended

APPENDIX C

SHD	54	Dresses self except tying
O	55	Uses pencil or crayon for drawing
S	56	Plays competitive exercise games

V-VI

O	57	Uses skates, sled, wagon
C	58	Prints simple words
S	59	Plays simple table games
SD	60	Is trusted with money
L	61	Goes to school unattended

VI-VII

SHE	62	Uses table knife for spreading
C	63	Uses pencil for writing
SHD	64	Bathes self assisted
SHD	65	Goes to bed unassisted

VII-VIII

SHG	66	Tells time to quarter hour
SHE	67	Uses table knife for cutting
S	68	Disavows literal Santa Claus
S	69	Participates in preadolescent play
SHD	70	Combs or brushes hair

VIII-IX

O	71	Uses tools or utensils
O	72	Does routine household tasks
C	73	Reads on own initiative
SHD	74	Bathes self unaided

IX-X

SHE	75	Cares for self at table
SD	76	Makes minor purchases
L	77	Goes about home town freely

X-XI

C	78	Writes occasional short letters
C	79	Makes telephone calls
O	80	Does small remunerative work
C	81	Answers ads; purchases by mail

XI-XII

O	82	Does simple creative work
SD	83	Is left to care for self or others
C	84	Enjoys books, newspapers, magazines

XII-XV

S	85	Plays difficult games
SHD	86	Exercises complete care of dress
SD	87	Buys own clothing accessories
S	88	Engages in adolescent group activities
O	89	Performs responsible routine chores

XV-XVIII

C	90	Communicates by letter
C	91	Follows current events
L	92	Goes to near-by places alone
SD	93	Goes out unsupervised daytime
SD	94	Has own spending money
SD	95	Buys all own clothing

XVIII-XX

L	96	Goes to distant points alone
SD	97	Looks after own health
O	98	Has a job or continues schooling
SD	99	Goes out nights unrestricted
SD	100	Controls own major expenditures
SD	101	Assumes personal responsibility

XX-XXV

SD	102	Uses money providently
S	103	Assumes responsibilities beyond own needs
S	104	Contributes to social welfare
SD	105	Provides for future

XXV +

O	106	Performs skilled work
O	107	Engages in beneficial recreation
O	108	Systematizes own work
S	109	Inspires confidence
S	110	Promotes civic progress
O	111	Supervises occupational pursuits
SD	112	Purchases for others
O	113	Directs or manages affairs of others
O	114	Performs expert or professional work
S	115	Shares community responsibility
O	116	Creates own opportunities
S	117	Advances general welfare

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